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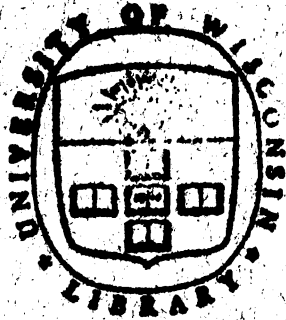
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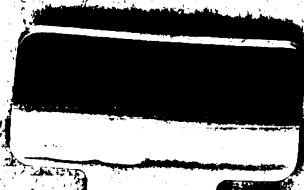
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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERI-
CAN LITERATURE FROM
1815 TO 1838

WILLIAM B. CAIRNS



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BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE SERIES, VOL. 1, NO. 1, PP. 1-87.

**ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE
FROM 1815 TO 1833**

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERIODICALS

BY

WILLIAM B. CAIRNS, PH. D.

Instructor in Rhetoric in the University of Wisconsin

**PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF LAW AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF
THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY**

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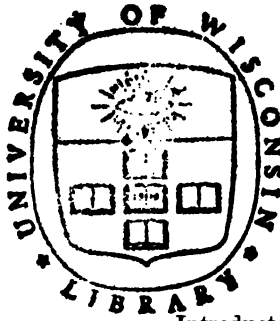


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PREFACE.

The paper that follows is a preliminary contribution to the study of American literature from 1815 to 1833. Both the magnitude of the subject and the nature of the data that must be obtained, have made it impossible to attain even approximate completeness. The exact direction of the studies that have been pursued was determined partly by the nature of the subject, and partly by circumstances. Almost at the outset it was found that American magazines of the period under consideration are surprisingly numerous; and a little further research seemed to show that in them, rather than in published volumes, is to be found the most valuable material for the literary history of the time. The author soon found, also, that the library in which he must work—the collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin—while but fairly well equipped with books of the period, was, in respect to magazines, unequalled in the West, and probably unexcelled anywhere. For these two reasons, especial attention has been given to this class of publications. An attempt has been made to consider the social and economic conditions that had a bearing on the development of literature, but the writings of individual men have been touched but briefly or not at all. Even the list of periodicals given is of necessity incomplete. It is hoped that the publication of this paper may make easier the collection of additional data, and that it may possibly induce others to investigate some phases of literary development in America during the same period.

The author wishes to express his obligations to Prof. J. C. Freeman, under whose general supervision the study has been

carried on; to Prof. F. G. Hubbard, who has given many helpful suggestions throughout the progress of the work, and who has read both the manuscript and the proof-sheets; to Prof. F. J. Turner, whose suggestions regarding authorities and methods of work have proved invaluable; and to Mr. W. M. Smith, who has given sympathetic aid in various ways. Especial mention must be made of the uniform courtesies of the library staff of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, upon whose good nature the author feels that he has often imposed.

AMERICAN LITERATURE FROM 1815 TO 1833.

INTRODUCTORY.

When and where the literature of the American continent had its origin, is a question on which opinions have differed widely. Richardson conscientiously begins his history with a discussion of Indian war-chants. In Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's comprehensive work, as in several hand-books, the name of the picturesque Captain John Smith heads the list of American authors, and the patriotic citizen is congratulated on the fact that our literature sprang from the British at the time of Elizabethan greatness. Brander Matthews says:¹ "It would be possible to maintain the thesis that American literature began in 1809 with the publication of Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*." And a recent article by Thomas Wentworth Higginson on *The Birth of a New Literature*² deals with the early days of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

A national literature is the expression of national tendencies; and before a first date is assigned, it is well to discover when these tendencies began to make themselves felt. Unfortunately, this is not an easy matter; tendencies grow, but they are never born. A conservation of energy seems to exist in the intellectual as well as in the physical world. Dormant forces are awakened; diffused impulses suddenly become concentrated; old movements change their direction; but only the superficial historian ventures to put his finger on a date and say, "At this moment some-

¹ Whitcomb *Chronological Outlines of American Literature*: Introduction, page ix.

² *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1897. Mr. Higginson parenthetically acknowledges the existence of Irving and Cooper.

thing new came into the intellectual life of the world." It is no doubt possible to find in the literature of today the effects of some influences that can be traced back to the time of the *True Relation*, if not to the earlier poets of the Choctaw and the Sioux. Classifications must, however, be made on broad grounds; and if we look at the subject comprehensively, we shall find that American writers of the 17th and 18th centuries did not bequeath much to their successors in the 19th. The close of the second war with Great Britain seems better than any other event to mark the date at which began a continuous and significant movement in American literature—a movement that has continued without real interruption to the present day.

Indeed, the historian seldom finds an epoch more distinctly marked than was that which began about 1815. This year saw the close of our war at home,¹ and the battle of Waterloo abroad. Both in America and in Europe circumstances favored a readjustment of conditions, political, economic, and literary. This was especially true in the United States, where the nation first really saw its destiny. Says Henry Adams:² "Until 1815, nothing in the future of the American Union was regarded as settled. As late as January, 1815, division into several nationalities was thought to be possible." And again:³ "In 1815 for the first time Americans ceased to doubt the path they were to follow. Not only was the unity of their nation established, but its probable divergence from older societies was also well defined."

It is the purpose of this study to trace the general course of literature in America from this critical date until another change in conditions occurred about the year 1833; to discover some of the forces that seem to have acted, and what were their results; to note some of the impulses that writers of this period transmitted to their successors; and perhaps incidentally to offer

¹ The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814, but the news was not received in this country until the opening of the new year. The battle of New Orleans was fought Jan. 8, 1815.

² *History of the United States*, ix., 219.

³ *Ibid.*, ix., 220.

slight help toward the solution of the question whether there has yet been an American literature in any other than a geographical sense.

THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

The period just preceding 1815, which Prof. Matthews includes in the beginning years of our literature, was characterized by great bitterness of feeling, not only toward the common enemy, but between factions at home. Party spirit has rarely, if ever, run higher. The course of the government paralyzed commerce and touched the pockets of thousands of men. Naturally enough intense feelings were aroused, and even disruption of the union was openly spoken of, and no doubt wished by some.

Literature, if such it may be called, was mainly devoted to the cause of party, and was largely satirical. Bryant, a boy of thirteen, caught the spirit, and wrote *The Embargo*, an attack on the dominant party, which went through two editions in as many years. Fessenden produced his *Pills, Poetical, Political, and Philosophical*, the title of which is suggestive enough of its nature. Ingersoll wrote the *Inchiquin Letters*, a satire on books by English travellers in America; and Paulding the *Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*. Some genius was shown in all these works, and much facility of expression; but the reader of today can only feel that such talents as their authors had, were wasted for the sake of a few months' notoriety. A few writers who did exert some slight influence on their successors will be mentioned in another place.

TENDENCIES OF THE PERIOD—POLITICAL.

The most significant political fact at this time was the growth of the national idea. The treaty of peace and the battle of New Orleans had the effect of merging party discontents in a general feeling of national triumph. It was evident that with but scanty resources, and in spite of dissensions at home, the United States could at least hold her own against a powerful enemy.

Indeed, the theory that the war was a drawn contest seems hardly to have been thought of; all Americans regarded it as a decided victory, and all exulted in it. The old motto seemed to be reversed: in strength there was union, though there had been disunion when strength was most needed. The promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was one of the expressions of this sense of national power.

The years just after the war became known by the now famous name of "The Era of Good Feeling", but it must not be supposed that all political antipathies were laid aside. Some odium still attached to New England for its support of the Hartford Convention, and in parts of New England an especial odium attached to those who had taken part in it. Human nature was the same in those years as in others, and feuds and hostilities, though dormant, still existed. One reason that they did not show more plainly was that the interest in politics was less than ever before.

The natural reaction after great excitement was helped on by influences from abroad. The French craze of an earlier time had had its day, and Napoleon had disgusted many Americans who, in spite of hostilities, knew of Continental affairs largely through the English. After Waterloo nothing in the European situation obtruded itself on the Americans, commercially or otherwise. As a result, they were willing to let political theories take care of themselves. As Henry Adams pointedly says,¹ speaking of the difference between 1801 and 1815, "The Rights of Man occupied public thoughts less, and the price of cotton more." At the same time democracy, which had had its rise a few years earlier, was becoming a settled fact, rather than an aggressive theory.

ECONOMIC.

This feeling of national greatness must find expression in action. The war was over; political strife was laid aside by common consent: naturally, in a new and undeveloped country at-

¹ History of the United States, ix., 104.

tention turned to territorial and commercial expansion. At first some manufacturing industries that had been built up during the war were unable to compete with foreign rivals, but this quickly called forth inventions to cheapen the cost of production. Foreign immigrants were just beginning to come in large numbers.¹ In the east they tended to make the population more cosmopolitan, while in the west they aided in the development of new states. By 1821, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri had been admitted to the union, in the order named. As a natural consequence of the rapid territorial expansion, much attention was paid to means of travel.² Improvements in steam navigation were introduced, turnpikes were built, and attention turned to canals. The Erie canal was opened in 1825.

The completion of Stephenson's first locomotive is another event usually assigned to the year 1815, and the importance of the new invention was recognized in America fully as soon as in England. At first it was looked upon as of doubtful practical value, but a decade later it was attracting wide attention. The Quincy railroad (operated by horse power) was begun in 1825, and finished in 1826.³ The first locomotive was brought to the United States in 1828. The West soon saw what overland communication by steam meant for its future, and by 1830 the new mode of travel was a favorite theme of discussion as far west as civilization extended.⁴

As facilities for communication increased, the position of New York gave it a great commercial advantage. Its only rival

¹ "During the year 1817, 22,000 immigrants were reported as entering the United States. Twelve or fourteen thousand were probably Irish; four thousand were German. More than two thousand arrived in Boston, while about seven thousand landed in New York, and the same number in Philadelphia. The greater part probably remained near where they landed." Adams, *History of the United States*, ix., 161.

² For a statement of the relation between facilities for transportation and the continuance of the United States as one nation, see Adams, *History of the United States*, volume i., chapter i.

³ There seems to be some question about this date, though most chronologies agree on the one given. Johnson's *Encyclopedia* gives 1826 for the inception and 1827 for the completion of the road.

⁴ See several articles in volume i., of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vandalia, 1830.

to the northward, Boston, had lost heavily during the war. Moreover, all New England was suffering financially from the crippling of its manufactures, and politically from its attitude toward the Hartford Convention. To the southward, Philadelphia was the center of large interests, but seems always to have deserved a little of the reputation for drowsiness that has been given it by its rivals. The population of New York doubled immediately after the close of the war, while in the same time that of New England increased about one-third.

EDUCATIONAL.

It is well known that at an early time education received more attention in New England than in the colonies farther south. Massachusetts still held the pre-eminence;¹ but by this time facilities for gaining an education were good throughout the northern states, and most of the authors who will be mentioned later took advantage of their opportunities. Paulding said that his education "cost, first and last, about fifteen dollars—certainly quite as much as it was worth;"² but none of the writers who belong strictly to the period under consideration made such a boast. Most of them had good academic training, and many attended college, even if they did not graduate.³

Academies were generally within reach of any well-to-do farmer, and most of the important New England colleges of today were already in existence. Even the West offered opportunities for higher study.⁴ The expense of a col-

¹ In 1828 it was estimated that Massachusetts had one student in college for every 1,108 inhabitants; Connecticut, one for every 1,244; Vermont, one for 1,891; New Hampshire, one for 2,114; Rhode Island, one for 2,636; Maine, one for 3,280. *American Quarterly Register*, i., 106.

² Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 183.

³ Bryant did not complete his course at Williams, on account of lack of means. Cooper was "dismissed" from Yale, and Dana expelled from Harvard. Lounsbury, *Life of Cooper*, 8; Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 184.

⁴ The most prominent colleges and universities in existence before 1815 were: Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Middlebury, University of Vermont, Williams, Harvard, Brown, Yale, Columbia, Union, Hamilton, Rutgers, Pennsylvania, and Princeton; also, in the south, South Carolina College, William and Mary, Charleston College, University of Georgia,

lege education was not great, even allowing for the difference in the value of money. In 1831 the estimated cost of a year at the various colleges, as given in the catalogues, was as follows: Harvard, \$179; Yale, \$140 to \$190; Dartmouth, \$101.22; Williams, \$79.50 to \$104.75; Waterville, \$84; Middlebury, \$86; Amherst, \$93 to \$118; Hamilton, \$72 to \$100; University of Pennsylvania, \$180 to \$201; Brown about \$120. Board is listed at from \$1 to \$1.75 a week, except at the University of Pennsylvania, where it is put at \$2.50 to \$3. Several colleges offered opportunities for students to pay their way wholly or partly; students intending to enter the ministry were aided by various societies.¹

Except in the classics, the standard of the best colleges was much lower than it is today. The preparatory studies for Harvard in 1829 were: Latin and Greek grammar, including prosody, Greek reader, four gospels, Virgil, Sallust, Cicero's Select Orations, arithmetic, algebra to the end of simple equations, geography. Arithmetic was regularly a freshman study. By this time short courses in the natural sciences had been introduced. Transylvania required Constitution of the United States in the senior year.²

English literature was not studied under this name, but much time was given to rhetoric and the "elements of criticism." Students probably read far more literature than they do today. Modern languages were included in the curricula of some colleges, and in most there were probably opportunities for pursuing them.

University of North Carolina, and St. Mary's at Baltimore. Between 1815 and 1833 were founded Waterville, Amherst, Alleghany, University of Virginia, and Columbian at Washington. In 1830 Harvard had 16 instructors and 247 undergraduates; Yale 14 instructors and 359 undergraduates.

The American Quarterly Register, iii., 127, publishes a Review of Literary Institutions in the Mississippi Valley in 1830. Twenty-eight institutions are mentioned, having at this time 766 graduates, 1,430 undergraduates, and 38,666 volumes in their libraries. The most prosperous was Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., with 300 students.

¹ American Quarterly Register, iii., 296. See also other numbers of this journal, which is a mine of information on the state of education from 1827 to 1832.

² For a comparative statement of courses of study and requirements for entrance to the leading colleges in 1829, see American Quarterly Register, i., 228.

RELIGIOUS.

It seemed a natural concomitant of the establishment of democracy that the Calvinistic theology, which had so long held sway in New England, should lose its power. At first the liberal movement was slow, and its course hard to trace. Preachers simply avoided subjects on which their views were not in accord with tradition. A minister could not plausibly be accused of heterodoxy on account of what he did not say, and although there were rumors of heresies, nothing on the surface showed the great change that was taking place in religious thought. The open break between the Unitarians and the Congregationalists came in 1815. In June of this eventful year *The Panoplist* charged the followers of the new faith with concealing their real position for unfair purposes, and called upon the church to refuse them communion. Channing replied in a published letter to Rev. Samuel Thatcher, and the battle was on. It was found that the liberal party had gained control of Harvard College—its opponents claimed by underhand means. The charge of stealing a college was a novel one, but it was freely made and indignantly denied. The religious periodicals of the day present both sides of the case at great length.

Out of this controversy between the old theology and the new came a great mass of writings which, no doubt, had many eager readers at the time; but they deal either with personalities or with dry doctrinal points, and though characterized by wit and learning, lack the interest possessed by the Transcendental speculations of a few years later. Only in the broadest sense of the word can they be called literature. The movement is interesting to the student of literary history mainly for two reasons: it absorbed the energies of many men who might otherwise have excelled in different lines—notably Wm. E. Channing, the elder; and the freedom of thought to which it led had a great influence on the writings of the Boston and Concord men of a generation later.

Internal dissensions were not confined to the Congregation-

alists. The Quakers also had a controversy between the conservatives and the liberals within their ranks. This, too, was the time of the Campbellites, and of other peculiar sects that had their rise toward the west. The rapid growth of the missionary movement and of Sunday schools was characteristic of the period.

MORAL.

Writers seldom comment fairly on contemporary manners and morals; these subjects are mentioned only for censure or for self-congratulation. Accordingly, pictures of American society at the time under consideration are rather confusing. English travellers were mostly hostile to America, and exaggerated such faults as they found. On the other hand, Americans had no hesitation in saying of themselves that they were the most courteous and most moral people on earth.

Among the minor offenses against good taste charged by British travellers, the most prominent were the chewing of tobacco and the impertinent questioning of strangers. There is no doubt that the strictures on the former offense were largely deserved. The habit of asking questions was characteristic of the West, and, however annoying it might be to a dignified English tourist, it was entirely natural. The chief way of getting information as to the doings of the world was still by oral communication, and no intelligent man situated as was the American pioneer could be expected to refrain from asking questions of the few strangers that came in his way. The charge that the Yankees were tricky and dishonest in business transactions very likely had some basis in the world-wide feeling that a tourist is fair game; and in some parts of the country there was probably something of an idea that business was a test of wits, and that the ability to hood-wink a customer gave a sort of right to do so. In many communities the same feeling still holds among schoolboys with regard to "swapping" knives, and among their elders with regard to trading horses. In spite of all that

was said of Yankee tricks, there are few reported cases of serious swindling.

The temperance agitation had begun, but drinking was indulged in to an extent that would now be called excess. It was quite the proper thing for a young man to be "convivial." In the set to which Irving belonged in his early days, "It was scarcely good manners not to get a little tipsy; and to be laid under the table by the compulsory bumper was not to the discredit of a guest."¹

Concerning the prevalence of more serious vices, it is hard to speak with certainty; but they were probably indulged in far less than they are today. Divorces were fewer; and the press gives hints of fewer scandals. Comments on French society and on some of Byron's poems also show, in an indirect way, that the people were not thoroughly familiar with vice. Indeed, one can hardly read the minor literature of the time without feeling that a large part of would-be fashionable society was in the position of the college freshman who wants to be dissipated and doesn't know how.

One peculiarity of the time was the great number of references, in the abstract, to seduction. These are found everywhere, and especially in ladies' magazines and periodicals that give the lighter literature. The first inference might be that the practice condemned was everywhere common; but the very unreality of tone in most of the articles on the subject shows that this could not have been the case.² It seems rather to be a

¹ Warner, *Life of Irving* (American Men of Letters Series), 44.

² The following specimen from the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, 1., 22, (August, 1823), is perhaps worth quoting, punctuation marks and all.

SEDUCTION.

"No dews give freshness to *this* blasted soil."

The golden god of day had sunk with his brilliant chariot in the west, and left the world to Cynthia and the glittering lamps of heaven—the tongue of time had spoken ten—oppressed with unusual sorrow I sought the romantic windings of the Hudson. All nature seemed to slumber, and naught was heard save the wild humming from the grove and the murmuring of the stream, which was gently undulated by the passing zephyr. I had not wandered far, when methought I heard the sound of hopeless misery. I paused—they were the wild and desolate breathings of a lonely and distracted woman! I approached with feelings of sacred compassion, and beheld what once an angel's form

survival, in literature only, of the earlier tradition that a woman's virtue was entirely at the mercy of any designing man of pleasing address. This probably came down from English writers of the 17th and 18th centuries through Charles Brockden Brown and others. It is fully as foreign to the time and place as are references to "the inconstant fair" and extravaganzas of mistress-worship—with which it is often found.

Fashions change as to what is permissible and what indelicate in writing and speech; and the literature of this period according to present views, is sometimes coarse and sometimes prudish. One reviewer¹ objects to the *Stout Gentleman* in *Bracebridge Hall* because the affair with the chambermaid is indelicate. On the other hand many passages which Irving wrote, that today could be described only by the word coarse, evidently seemed perfectly proper.

In the country, and on the frontier, there probably existed the same conditions that exist among our rural population to-day—comparative purity of life, often accompanied by coarseness of speech and actions. In the cities there was still some of the old time gallantry. It was said to be possible for a woman to travel by stage-coach, unattended, throughout the country, without fear of annoyance.

had been. She was reclining on the trunk of an aged tree, and supporting with a hand of snow a brain of fire. I could not, did not, disturb her—I felt 'an awe and veneration which none can dream of. Not far behind her stood a solitary willow, under whose drooping branches I found concealment,—here I observed her and listened to the thrilling tones of a voice, sweet and heavenly as the music of a seraph * * * she sang of love, of treachery, and of cruel inconstant man, and a deep melancholy flowed through every line—she tore a portrait from her bosom—kissed it—and placed it there again;—then with a shriek she rose and wept—tear followed tear adown the cheek where roses once had bloomed—her lily hands she mingled with her jetty hair—she plucked it and gave it to the winds, which seemed to sigh and moan, as lamenting the fall of virtue—and then with fleetness that hid defiance to the rein-deer's speed, she ascended a rugged, barren cliff, whose towering top frowned upon the bubbling stream below—prostrate she knelt before the Throne of Mercy, and breathed a prayer in all the agony of a broken heart—then, rising from her humble posture, she rushed into the gulf beneath—a groan—a struggle—silence reigned—SHE DIED! THE VICTIM OF SEDUCTION!! * * *

GEORGE.

For other articles on the same subject, and in much the same strain see *Rural Repository*, Hudson, N. Y., i., 22, (June, 1824); *Ladies' Magazine*, Savannah, i., 4 (February, 1819); and many other periodicals of about this time.

¹ *Literary and Scientific Repository*, iv., 422.

OTHER TENDENCIES.

Few things are harder to imagine than the conditions of an age that differs from our own. The task is especially hard in case of a period that was in some respects so modern, and in some so far removed from the life of today. It is hard to put ourselves in the places of men who read most of the best literature that we read, who lived under the same government, discussed the same political questions, and thought many of the same thoughts, but who had no railroads, no telegraphs, none of the modern conveniences without which it seems as if we could not exist. Even the absence of electric, gas, and kerosene lights would seem to us almost an insurmountable obstacle in the way of pursuing literary studies.

Books, while in one way and another within the reach of most, were comparatively scarce. Not many were published in the United States, and before the war commercial restrictions made it difficult to import.¹ This state of affairs of course changed to some extent during this period. American publishers found it profitable to issue editions of English works, which they could reprint without paying royalty;² and in time many works by American authors were undertaken. Still, reading matter was so rare that there was an incentive to master a good book.

Somewhat strangely, the fine arts in America were in a flourishing condition. Washington Allston, a brother-in-law of Dana, a man who seems to have fascinated every one who met him, won fame as a painter both at home and abroad. S. F. B. Morse, later the inventor of the telegraph, was prominent in New York art circles, as were Inman and many others.

In music, little had been produced on this side the water. The old-fashioned tunes were still played at rural dances. Imme-

¹ Ticknor, *Life of Prescott*, 9; quoted by Godwin.

² S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections*, ii., 110, says, speaking of the period before 1820: "The successful booksellers of the country — Carey, Small, Thomas, Warner, of Philadelphia; Campbell, Duyckinck, Reed, Kirk & Mercein, Whiting & Watson, of New York; Beers & Howe, of New Haven; O. D. Cooke, of Hartford; West & Richardson, Cummings & Hilliard, R. P. & C. Williams, S. T. Armstrong, of Boston — were for the most part the mere reproducers and sellers of English books."

diately after the war martial airs were of course popular, and both commercial and naval interests gave vogue to songs of the sea. In polite circles the fashionably correct thing seems to have been to sing the songs of Burns and Moore, with their countless imitations.¹

FOREIGN INFLUENCES—ENGLISH.

It has already been said that at this time there was little connection between European and American politics; but in the field of letters the influence of the old world was more marked. The state of English literature was such as to prove an inspiration. Notable publications by Byron, Wordsworth, and Scott bear the date 1815.² Not only these men, but Coleridge, Keats, Moore, Maria Edgeworth, Miss Austin, Hallam, Hazlitt, and many others were producing some of their best work about this time. At no other period since the Elizabethan age had English writers been better fitted to exercise strong influence, and on the whole influence for good, upon their contemporaries.

The two ideas for which the most prominent of these English writers stood were democracy and love of nature. It was natural that the expression of either of these should be responsively met in America. The bold, free romances of Scott, both in verse and in prose, appealed to a people who knew, by direct acquaintance or close tradition, such picturesque characters as the savage and the backwoodsman, and whose attention had been called by a recent war to the heroic deeds of their ancestors in colonial and revolutionary times. The poems were perhaps more enthusiastically received in America than in England. Young ladies could repeat the whole of *The Lady of the Lake* from memory. Every versifier attempted the octo-syllabic measure; even Bryant, at an early age, began an Indian narrative

¹ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 14, gives the following list of music popular in the boyhood of the poet; *The Battle of Prague*, *Governor Brooks's March*, *Washington's March*, *Henry's Cottage Maid*, *Brigal's Banks*, *Bonnie Doon*, *The Last Rose of Summer*, *Oft in the Stilly Night*, *Money Musk*, *Fisher's Hornpipe*, *The Hay-makers*.

² Byron, *Hebrew Melodies*; Scott, *Lord of the Isles*, *Guy Mannering*; Wordsworth, *The White Doe of Eylestone*, *Poems*.

after the manner of Scott.¹ Similar results followed the publication of the novels. Not only Cooper, but a host of lesser prose writers, were disciples of the author of *Waverly*.

The influence of Wordsworth is not easy to trace. He is quoted more widely than any other living poet except Byron, and is often referred to in an appreciative way by American writers. The exact form that this appreciation took, however, was not altogether such as would have been pleasing to Wordsworth. One of the most thorough reviews of the time² patronizes the *Lyrical Ballads*, which are said to have succeeded in spite of "their grossness, their childishness, and their vanity"; gives high praise to *The Excursion* and other blank verse poems, and seems to consider Wordsworth best when he is drawing most inspiration from Milton. There were readers, however, who appreciated the *Lyrical Ballads*. Bryant said "that upon opening the book a thousand springs seemed to gush up at once in his heart, and the face of Nature, of a sudden, to change into a strange freshness and life."³ Still, it is doubtful if Wordsworth was widely read. As late as 1834 the *American Quarterly Observer*⁴ complains; "Just consider the estimation in which Wordsworth is regarded in this country. A small edition of his select poems was published in Boston in 1824, in beautiful style, and yet a considerable portion of the edition is unsold. In these ten years, what scores of the volumes of Mrs. Hemans,

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 141.

² *Atlantic Magazine*, New York, ii., 334 and 419 (1825). The reviewer says: "The *Excursion* * * * contains within its compass more pure and manly poetry, more beautiful embodying of pure and noble thoughts, more definite revealing of the secret influences which so wonderfully sway our complicated being, than can be found in almost any other poem since the great English Epic was given to the world. Most seriously and most painfully do we regret that an obstinate and petulant adherence to the mere form and shadow of a theory, utterly unworthy of the noble mind of Wordsworth, still desecrates, by its intrusion, the sacred structure that he has reared for immortality."

"Yet nothing can be easier than the removal of this blot. The change of the word Pedlar as often as it occurs (we believe it occurs but once) to any other of the appellations of the old man, the Itinerant, the Traveller, the Wanderer, or the Solitary,—the erasure of some half a dozen lines, and the alteration of as many more,—would obviate the very reasonable complaint of those in whose minds the name of Pedlar is inseparably associated with base uses and vulgar recollections."

³ Richard H. Dana; quoted by Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 104.

⁴ July, 1834; page 147.

of Scott, Byron, and Pope have been scattered abroad." It is impossible, however, to estimate the influence of an author by the number of volumes sold. The truth probably is that Wordsworth was a "poet's poet"; that no living Englishman had a stronger hold on those American writers who themselves had the strongest hold on their own countrymen; but that his works were far less read by the masses than were those of Byron.

This was perfectly natural. Wordsworth's appreciation of nature was too subtle to be fully understood by the man of affairs. Byron loved nature too, but he loved her most in her grander manifestations,—the ocean and the storm; and he expressed his feelings in a form that could be understood by the American sailor or the American backwoodsman. His democracy, too, was of a freer, more aggressive sort than was Wordsworth's, and approached nearer to the spirit of the American pioneer.

As might be expected, Byron found eager readers, perhaps his most eager readers, in the West. The pioneers saw nature as he saw it, and they regarded the rights of man much as he regarded them. Still, they could not commend, or even excuse his morals. The backwoodsmen were not Puritans, who took pleasure in repressing passions and desires, but rather men whose passions and desires were so natural and whose habits of life were by necessity so restricted, that they could scarcely understand a life given over to cynical vice.¹

The reviews of Byron's works in American magazines and the remarks on his death from press and pulpit are an interesting study. The religious journals treated the poet, as they do to the present day, with patronizing pity. The tone of criticism in the distinctively literary reviews was determined largely by the attitude of the editor toward England and English writers. Byron was the most popular English writer of the hour; his character and some things in his writings were clearly open to

¹ See a very interesting series of articles on The Character of Lord Byron, signed R. N., in the Cincinnati Literary Gazette for 1825. There are many other notes on Byron and his work throughout this volume. See also a review of Don Juan in the Western Review, II., 1.

severe criticism; so that praise or blame might be given as desired. One writer says, reviewing *Marino Faliero*:¹ "Nor can any lover of poetry, or admirer of genius fail to welcome the productions of that great poet, whose writings have given such a high character to the genius of the age, as to establish its equal claim to the homage of mankind, with that of any period of time that has preceded it, and which, moreover, has so often and strongly moved the deepest sympathies of our hearts." Another,² discussing the *Lament of Tasso*, makes free use of such terms as "gross," "despicable," "base," "heinous," "lies," condemns the poem as utterly worthless—and prints it in full. The great majority of the comments on the poems, however, were free in their phrases.³ The popular enthusiasm was greater than that of the reviews; and the ascendancy of the Byronic verse was much more lasting and marked than that of Scott's octosyllables. Americans not only wrote Byronic poetry of their own but remodeled that of the poet. Edwin C. Holland, Esq., of Charleston, changed the *Corsair* into a blank verse melodrama in four acts, arranged for the stage. The story and the original diction were preserved as far as possible.⁴

Byron, Scott, and Wordsworth were the three English writers whose influence on the best of American letters was most noticeable. But many readers who believed themselves possessed of literary tastes and abilities found more pleasure in other poets. Chief among these were Moore and Mrs. Hemans. Both were recipients of extravagant praise;⁵ from them

¹ Ladies' Literary Cabinet, iv., 25 (New York, 1821).

² American Monthly Magazine and Review, i., 422 (New York, Oct., 1817). This magazine was one of the most bitter in its opposition to everything English.

³ Articles are to be found in North American Review, v., 98 and xx., 1; Christian Monthly Spectator, vii., 450; Analectic Magazine, iii., 334, and iv., 68; United States Literary Gazette, i., 54; and Literary and Scientific Repository, iii., 91.

⁴ For a review and extracts see American Monthly Magazine and Review, iii., 88.

⁵ In the Ladies Literary Cabinet, iv., 195 (1821), is a typical review of Lalla Rookh. A few sentences will serve as an example: "Among the minor poets of the present day, a decided preeminence must certainly be given to Thomas Moore." "It must be allowed that the greater number of productions which first appeared from his pen, under the name of Thomas Little, Esq., are a disgrace to a sublime genius. We are happy, however, to learn, that he now condemns many of his former pieces, and is at present a virtuous and exemplary character, practicing the virtues and enjoying the delights of con-

doubtless came much of the tendency to be sentimental that is noticeable in America even to the days of the *Atlantic Monthly*—a tendency often referred erroneously to the Knickerbocker school.

Great as were living British authors at this time, it was not their writings alone that influenced American letters. Indeed, Americans seem to have viewed English literature from Chaucer to Wordsworth as a unit; and in accordance with an eclectic tendency, to have chosen what seemed best, without regard to the age or party by which it was produced.

In the early years of this century a battle was being fought both in England and on the Continent, between two schools of literature. The contest was so fierce that an Englishman of literary tastes found it hard to keep from arraying himself on one side or the other. At a greater distance, an American could well admit the merits, and also the defects, of both Pope and Wordsworth. The works of both were English literature to him and he judged them with an impartiality perhaps fully as great as that with which they are looked upon today. In the libraries of the older families of the eastern states the eighteenth century writers held a prominent place.¹ They had constituted

nubial felicity." "Among the poems which have appeared in the present age, there is not one in which is contained so large a quantity of varied, rich, romantic, sweet, voluptuous and sublime poetry, as is found in this volume." Among other superlative expressions in the collection are "inspired," "sublime imagination," "the richest elegance of romantic poetry," etc. The article is signed "Violanthe."

The following sentences are from a review of the fifth American edition of Mrs. Hemans' works, in the Critic, New York, Dec., 1823, page 86: "The language of encomiastic hyperbole connected with her name becomes only the simple language of truth." "The mind of this exalted woman is as much beyond those of the rest of her sex in point of cultivation, as it is in point of natural vigour and capacity." "The reader who can peruse her productions without acknowledging them rich in all the best and highest essentials of poetry, has no taste."

The significant thing about this criticism is that it evidently expressed the views of a large part of the reading public.

¹ Catalogues of these libraries are not so easily accessible as might be desired. The following books are said to have been in the library of Bryant's father (Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 59): "Hume, Gibbon, Rollin, Russell, Gillies, Plutarch, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Akenside, Goldsmith, Thompson, Burns, Cowper, Beattie, Falconer, Campbell (Pleasures of Hope), Hogg, Montgomery, Rogers, Scott (Lord of the Isles), Byron (Lara, Bride of Abydos, and Corsair), Southey (Thalaba and Minor Poems), and Wordsworth (Lyrical Ballads), and in other departments, Burke, Chester

the chief reading of those colonial gentlemen who, whether Tories or rebels in the final struggle, had prided themselves on keeping in touch with all that was best in the culture of the mother country. But the works of the newer school came into these libraries, and the young men read all, and to a certain extent patterned after all. The difference must have been felt; but in the absence of the numerous critical works with which we are familiar, it is doubtful whether it was so clearly recognized as it is today. The Addisonian sketches of Irving and the ultra-romantic novels of Cooper were admired by the same readers. The Croaker papers were in the vein of the lighter

field, the Spectator, Fielding, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Adam Clark's Travels, Park's Travels, Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature, and Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe. Besides the greater masters, Mr. Cullen Bryant tells us there were Sanford and Merton, and Little Jack; there were Robinson Crusoe, with its variations, The Swiss Family Robinson and The New Robinson Crusoe; there were a Mrs. Trimmer's Knowledge of Nature, and Berquin's lively narratives and sketches translated from the French; there were Philip Quarll and Watt's Poems for Children, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Mrs. Barbauld's writings. Later we had Mrs. Edgeworth's Parent's Assistant and Evenings at Home."

The Longfellow library contained (S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 11); Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Thompson, Goldsmith, The Spectator, The Rambler, The Lives of the Poets, Baskelas, Plutarch's Lives; Hume's, Gibbon's, Gillie's, and Robertson's Histories; Hannah Moore's Works; Cowper, Moore, Robinson Crusoe, the Arabian Nights, Don Quixote, and Ossian. The Pilgrim's Progress was not there.

In the catalogue of Fitz-Greene Halleck's private library, sold at auction in 1868, are listed the following editions bearing date before 1820. (The length of time that they had been in the poet's possession is of course not known.) Thos. Campbell's Poems, Coleridge's Poems, Goethe's Faust, Moore's Poems, Ossian, Shakespeare's Works, Shennstone's Poems, Thompson's Poetical Works, Remains of H. K. White.

Among the books that Halleck bought earliest were Campbell, Burns, and Addison's Spectator. (Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 251.)

The Bryant list of course contains many books that must have been added to the collection at a comparatively late date. In this connection it is interesting to note the following list of books, recommended by Bryant to a fellow student in 1810. He had read them all before he entered Williams College at the age of 16. [(Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 490, note.) The list is: Addison's Prose Writings, Bolingbroke's Reflections in Exile, Goldsmith's Writings, Johnson's Idler, Rambler, and Adventurer; Smith's Longinus; Johnson's Lives of the Poets; Alison on Taste; Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare; Burke's Writings; Pope's Prefaces to Shakespeare and Homer; Erskine's Speeches; Chapman's Select Speeches; Travels of Anacharsis; Langhorne's Plutarch; Fisher Ames' Speeches; Cumberland's Memoirs; Reid's Inquiry; Stewart's Philosophy; Aikin's Letters; Life of Sir William Jones.

At this time it was very usual to begin, or rather preface, a poem or a prose article with a quotation from some author. In the *Idle Man* (1824), and his earliest volume of poems, Dana uses in this way quotations from Crabbe, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Young, Davies, Byron, Cowper, and Sir Thomas Browne.

verse of the 18th century; but *Marco Bozzaris* and some of Halleck's other best work is Byronic.

It must not be inferred that the American critics did not see that there were two schools, the old and the new; but rather that they did not feel them to be so far antagonistic that one must be followed at the cost of ignoring the other. The following extract from a review of *Don Juan* in the *Western Review*¹ expresses the general sentiment. The fact that this is the utterance of the pioneer Western magazine is significant.

"We are not enemies, but are admirers of Pope, and take unceasing pleasure in reading his numbers. . . . But we are not *exclusive* in our admiration of this regular, smooth and well-balanced verse. We confess that we are entertained, instructed, and charmed with some of the poets of the NEW SCHOOL. We see in this school excesses, defects, and many abuses, but also great merits."

It seems a little strange that Coleridge should have had so slight an apparent influence on American literature at this time. He was known of course, but he is seldom quoted, and there seems to be little to show that he was recognized as one of the strong minds of the age.

The reasons for this are not clear; but one may lie in the attitude of the American mind toward philosophy. That the Americans had the power of abstract thought in a high degree is shown not only by the writings of men like Jonathan Edwards, but by the fact that laymen followed and seemed to enjoy sermons on the most abstruse theological points.² But this was at an earlier time, and with the development of the bustling commercial spirit there was a decline of interest in things that had no obvious value in dollars and cents. The taste for abstract thought remained among the clergy; but the clergy were not writing much of general interest.

The matter-of-fact turn of the western mind also prevented appreciation of Coleridge's more imaginative works. The reader

¹ Volume II., page 6, Lexington, Ky., 1820. Italics and capitals those of the original.

² See Tyler, *History of American Literature*, I., Chaps. v. and vii.

who felt that the story of *Rip Van Winkle* was spoiled because the twenty years' sleep was not scientifically accounted for,¹ could hardly be expected to enjoy *Christabel* or even the *Ancient Mariner*.²

These theories regarding Coleridge's slight hold on America are only tentative. It is possible, also, that his influence was stronger than is here supposed. Many critics tacitly assume that he was a great force in America at this time; it seems natural that he should have been, and perhaps he was; but, strangely enough, few facts come to light to show it.³

CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE.

If Coleridge, the apostle of German thought, accomplished little in America, it is perhaps less remarkable that Germany should accomplish little. Yet the critic is so accustomed to think of the strong German influence a few years later, that he is surprised to find that it does not exist at this period in the same degree.

In a recent article,⁴ Thomas Wentworth Higginson speaks

¹ See a review in the *Western Review*, ii., 244.

² The *Atlantic Magazine*, ii., 334, speaks of the *Ancient Mariner* as nonsense. Among the stanzas quoted in support of this view are some of those most commonly admired.

³ American reviews of Coleridge's works are not very numerous. The *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, ii., 105 (Dec., 1817), condemns the style of the *Biographia Literaria* as ungrammatical, and his philosophy as entirely unintelligible; but praises his taste with regard to the classics, and his feeling toward Southey. The reviewer continues: "As this biography is professed to be designed as an introduction to Mr. Coleridge's *Sybilline Leaves*, we were at pains to procure a copy of that work, but after a slight experiment gave up the idea of reading it." This article is signed "E."

The same journal, i., 12, copies notes of *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, etc., from the British reviews, with an introduction beginning: "We have copied the following article . . . not so much on account of the importance of the piece which it professes to treat, (which is, indeed, too contemptible to have arrested attention, had not some degree of credit been, heretofore, attached to the name of Mr. Coleridge,) as for the justness of its general criticisms. It is time for the professed guardians of morals and arbiters of taste, to interpose the authority with which they are invested, to shield the one, and to rescue the other, from the rude attacks of a wantonness of innovation that has attempted the violation of both."

In the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* a little note from Count de Soligny on Coleridge as a Talker is given "As an offset to some of the ill-natured witticisms to which this 'singularly wild and original' genius has been subjected." In the same issue Genevieve is given as "a favorable specimen of Mr. Coleridge's poetical powers."

⁴ *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1897, page 496.

of "the current of thought which between 1816 and 1818 took our whole American educational system away from the English tradition, and substituted the German methods." This change Mr. Higginson places to the credit of four men, Cogswell, Everett, Ticknor, and Bancroft. Ticknor and Everett went to Goettingen in 1815, Cogswell in 1816, Bancroft in 1818. None of them was back in this country before 1818. These enthusiastic young men were no doubt strongly imbued with the German idea; but they were young men, and their influence, while relatively greater than that of an equal number of graduate students today, was by no means sufficient to revolutionize American education in a year or two—certainly not before they returned to this country. Mr. Higginson's dates are too early, or his statement is far too inclusive.

As a matter of fact, the literature of this period shows relatively few quotations from German authors, or references to German ideas. The language was little studied. Some of the magazines contain original verses in French and Italian, but none in German. Editors printed versions of German poems and essays which they were not ashamed to admit were retranslations from the French. Henry Adams says:¹ "Germany was nearly as unknown as China, until Madame de Staël published her famous work in 1814. Even then young George Ticknor, incited by its account of German university education, could find neither a good teacher, nor a dictionary, nor a German book in the shops or the public libraries of the city or at the college in Cambridge." Again:² "Pennsylvania was largely German, and the Moravians were not without learning, yet no trace of German influence showed itself in the educated and literary class. Schiller was at the end of his career, and Goethe at the zenith of his powers; but neither was known in Pennsylvania, unless it might be by translations of the 'Robbers' or the 'Sorrows of Werther.'" Biographers of Emerson convey the impression that while at Harvard he was much influenced by Tick-

¹ History of the United States, i, 94. In the catalogue of Halleck's private library is listed Goethe's *Faust*, Boston, 1806; but this may have been a translation.

² *Ibid.*, i, 123. This statement applies to the time about 1800.

nor and Everett; yet in 1824, after he had left college, he wrote to his brother:¹ "Say particularly whether German and Hebrew be worth reading; for though I hate to study them, cordially, I yet will, the moment I can count my gains." Emerson does not seem really to have got into German until about 1829.²

The itineraries of European travelers show the same disregard of Germany. As late as 1826-7, when Longfellow went abroad to fit himself for the professorship of modern languages at Bowdoin, he spent 8 months in France, 8 in Spain, 13 in Italy, and 5 in Germany, visiting the countries in the order named. It is true that he wished to spend a few weeks more in Goettingen, but even had his stay been as long as he planned it, it would not have equalled that in Spain.³ When we remember the purpose of his visit to Europe, and the hold that Germany had on him when, a few years later, he was writing *Outre Mer* and *Hyperion*, these figures are suggestive.

Bryant made his first trip abroad in 1834, just after the close of the period under consideration. His "original intention had been to spend his time chiefly in Spain, by the language and literature of which he was singularly fascinated; but that country was in the midst of one of its chronic convulsions, and he turned his face towards Italy."⁴ He passed a much longer time in France and Italy than in Germany, and the only German cities that he visited were Munich and Heidelberg, the latter, in an intellectual way, probably the most cosmopolitan in the country.

Irving's devotion to Spain needs no mention. The example of these men is valuable, because we know their characters, and can allow for any personal bias. Their interests and routes of travel do not seem to have differed much from those of the majority of their countrymen who visited the continent in those years.

¹ Cabot, *Life of Emerson*, i., 109.

² *Ibid.*, i., 160.

³ S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, Vol. i., Chaps. vii. to xi. inclusive.

⁴ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 308.

A few theories may be hazarded as to the preponderance of southern influence over German. In the first place, there was the old political sympathy with France, which naturally led to an interest in the French language and literature. France was most closely connected, both geographically and linguistically, with the southern countries. In the second place, the study of the classics tended then as now, and more strongly then than now, to make every tourist seek Rome, and incidentally the other parts of Italy. In the third place, Irving's interest in Spain during the latter part of the period, drew the attention of students to that country. To his influence was no doubt due much of the fascination that its language and literature had for Bryant. Again, the condition of Germany itself was not such as to attract students. There was no center, no head; the many small independent states were moved against each other by petty jealousies.

Finally, the American mind did not seem quite capable of understanding the German. It was not that the Americans were dull, or shallow, or prosaic; but that from their nature, and their experience, or lack of experience,¹ they were incapable of feeling what lay at the bottom of the German movement of this time. Nothing indicates this much better than Halleck's remark that Goethe's *Faust* was "The worst book, in the strongest sense of the word worst, that I have ever read through."²

THE CLASSICS.

It has been said that the classics drew attention to Italy. They also had direct influence on literature. Greek and Latin were still looked upon as the basis of a liberal education. Almost every man who made pretensions to culture read them with greater or less ease. The importance of the natural sciences was being recognized, but they were not yet present in the college curriculum to any extent. So long as this was the case, the old notion of culture was bound to stand, in spite of occasional

¹ See page 10.

² Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 206.

protests from men who could not see the money value in dead languages.

PREVIOUS LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS IN AMERICA.

Although American literature as a connected national development began after the close of the war of 1812, there was already a great mass of American writings, extending from the earliest settlements to the time of the war itself. That the study of these attempts is not entirely uninteresting will be admitted by any one who has read Prof. Tyler's volumes. Still, the student of today finds the subject, though fascinating in the selections and comments of Prof. Tyler, dreary enough in the original documents; and so the readers of an earlier day found it. There were some who felt called upon to worship everything American for purely geographical reasons; but the more discriminating saw that little was to be gained from the native authors who had gone before.

Of the colonial writers, none had much influence. Jonathan Edwards was of course read by theologians, but his writings can hardly be classed as general literature.¹ Anne Bradstreet is more interesting as the ancestor of Dana, Channing, Holmes, and Wendell Phillips than as a poet.² Franklin was indeed read, and exercised a good deal of influence, especially in his own city; and Franklin was a writer of no small literary abilities. Still, his popularity was due largely to his labors in behalf of his country, his interest in scientific matters, and the common-sense practicality of his maxims, which appealed to the shrewd commercial instincts of his countrymen. Franklin's life, by Werner, and the first genuine edition of his works, edited by Temple Franklin, appeared in 1817.³

Charles Brockden Brown, also a Philadelphian, was the first American novelist of note, and some tendencies in American fiction had their origin with him. His life, by Dunlap, per-

¹ See Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii., 177.

² *Ibid.*, i., 277.

³ Whitecomb, *Chronological Outlines*.

haps the earliest American biography of an American author, was issued in 1815.

Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* appeared in 1809, after which the author was silent ten years, until the publication of the *Sketch-Book* in 1819. During these ten years his style entirely changed; so that Irving himself may be said to belong to the time under consideration, while this one production is of the earlier period. The influence of this isolated work, however, was great. It was the first American book to receive especial notice abroad; and its success, which was tolerably well-known by 1815, was a great source of encouragement to American writers. From this time on, "Our Own Irving" was always mentioned as an example of what American letters might be.

Bryant was a student of this early literature. In a letter written in 1818¹ he mentions among the poets that he has read, Dwight, Barlow, Trumbull, Humphrey, Honeywood, Clifton, Paine, Philip Freneau, and Francis Hopkinson; and others with whom he was not familiar, Hopkins, Dr. Ladd, and Dr. Church. In July of the same year he published, in the *North American Review*, an *Essay on American Poetry*, a review of recent collection by Solyman Brown. This essay shows the cooler judgment of the time, and even surprises us by its soundness.

Dwight and Trumbull, with whom Bryant heads his list, were members of the group known as The Hartford Wits, which flourished in the earliest years of the century. They attracted much attention for a time, but their fame was unusually short-lived. Other members of the same circle were Hopkins, Strong, Cogswell, and a little later, Mrs. Sigourney.

LITERARY TENDENCIES.

The summary of conditions that has already been given has indicated most of the tendencies that might be expected to operate in the course of literary development. No more need be said of the impulses derived from the classics, or from the ro-

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 154.

mantic school; or of the selective tendency that took as models for American literature the best that had been produced in the mother country. More important than all these was an intense literary self-consciousness, or what might be called a literary bumptiousness. It has already been seen how great was the growth of the national idea. The United States had shown its ability by land and sea; it was showing its inventive genius, its commercial enterprise, its ability to push rapidly into the new territory of the west. Only the most pessimistic citizen doubted the future greatness of the nation.

Now a truly great nation must have a great literature; and when this fact was recognized, there began a movement as definite as that toward a new canal, or the introduction of the railroad. It would be impossible to cite the speeches and magazine articles on the subject of a national literature put forth between 1815 and 1830. Edward Everett's Phi Beta Kappa address delivered in 1825 is still read.¹ But the discussion of the subject was going on ten years earlier. Bryant's *Essay on American Poetry*, already referred to, deals with the past only to look forward.

It is often said that in matters of taste America was at this time in a state of servile dependence on England. The following, from Lounsbury,² is a strong presentation of this view. The author is speaking of conditions in 1820.

"The intellectual dependence of America upon England at that period [1820] is something that it is now hard to understand. Political supremacy had been cast off, but the supremacy of opinion remained absolutely unshaken. Of creative literature there was then very little of any value produced: and to that little a foreign stamp was necessary, to give currency outside of the petty circle in which it originated. There was slight encouragement for the author to write; there was still less for the publisher to print. It was indeed a positive injury ordinarily to the commercial credit of a bookseller to bring out a volume of

¹ Works of Edward Everett, i., 9.

² Life of Cooper (American Men of Letters Series), 18.

poetry or of prose fiction which had been written by an American; for it was almost certain to fail to pay expenses. A sort of critical literature was struggling, or rather gasping, for a life that was hardly worth living; for its most marked characteristic was its servile deference to English judgment, and dread of English censure. It requires a painful and penitential examination of the reviews of the period to comprehend the utter abasement of mind with which the men of that day accepted the foreign estimate upon works written here, which had been read by themselves, but which it was clear had not been read by the critics whose opinions they echoed. Even the meekness with which they submitted to the most depreciatory estimate of themselves was out-done by the anxiety with which they hurried to assure the world that they, the most cultivated of the American race, did not presume to have so high an opinion of the writings of some one of their countrymen as had been expressed by enthusiasts, whose patriotism had proved too much for their discernment. Never was any class so eager to free itself from charges that imputed to it the presumption of holding independent views of its own. Out of the intellectual character of many of those who at that day pretended to be the representatives of the highest education in this country, it almost seemed that the element of manliness had been wholly eliminated; and that along with its sturdy democracy, whom no obstacles thwarted and no dangers daunted, the New World was also to give birth to a race of literary cowards and parasites."

Those who make such statements only repeat what was charged in the periodicals of the time, without recognizing that the fact of its being charged so freely, and often in such an exaggerated manner, is proof of its untruth. Doubtless two-thirds or three-fourths of the literary journals then published, directed such accusations against their contemporaries; and similar complaints are not uncommon in addresses, prefaces to books, etc. A few typical examples will be sufficient.

The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette,¹ speaks of a con-

¹ Volume ii., page 13, (1829).

temporary as "Trying to set us free from our deplorable and abject literary vassalage."

The Literary and Scientific Repository,¹ says, more moderately: "It would, however, be well worth our while to consider, whether the barbarous nakedness of literature, with which they have charged us, and which is in some respects undeniable, be not owing rather to fastidiousness of taste, than to paucity of talent among us; whether being without the advantages of the institutions and the associations by which foreign talent has been developed, we have not affected the difficulty of being pleased, which belongs to palates already satiated with literary luxuries; whether we have not aped the arts of the connoisseur, rather than imitated the productions of the artist:—if this be so, we have the faults of our own style of criticism to correct, as well as to resist the prejudice and the injustice of foreign literary tribunals.

"It is our business to nourish the stem, rather than to prune the tree. . . . If we could be brought to put the stamp of our own approbation upon our literary coin, without waiting for the image and superscription of the foreign potentates of taste, there would be more of it in the market; and we should grow richer by the liberality of our policy."

The same journal,² reviewing a forgotten poem, *Ontwa*, says: "Half of the trash which, sanctioned by the title of English novels, circulates through the union, paying its way as it goes, if it was of American origin, would meet with the contempt it deserves."

This feeling persisted to the very end of the period—if indeed it may not be said to persist even today. The following is from the *Western Monthly Magazine* for 1883:³

"If a paltry *ignoramus* writes a book of travels against us, who so indignant as we? If our flag is insulted, who so quick to resent the affront? If John Bull undertakes to sell us calico

¹ Volume ii., page 52, (New York, 1820).

² Volume iv., page 86.

³ Volume i, page 7. (Cincinnati)

cheaper than we can make it, who can declaim with such patriotic eloquence against the danger of being dependent upon foreigners? If an old maid in London, who has a few thousand pounds laid by to support herself and an interesting tom-cat in their old age, chooses to invest it in American bank-stock, with what disdain do we spurn the ignoble idea of enriching ourselves by the use of foreign capital! But while we thus resist and disclaim foreign influence in matters merely pecuniary, how tamely do we submit to the domination of the British press! While we shrink from the contamination of their cash and their cotton-goods, neither of which could do us any great harm, with what apathetic indifference do we see their books distributed throughout the whole extent of our republic, and exerting a silent but powerful influence on the morals and taste of the country! Now we are very clear in the proposition, that if there is one article of native growth or manufacture, which we are solemnly bound to cherish against all foreign competition, that article would consist in the products of our native intellect. . . . Our lawyers, physicians, divines, and statesmen are inferior to none in the world; and our authors would be equally successful, if the same inducements were placed before them."

It is undoubtedly true that the publication of books by American authors was not very profitable;¹ but this simply means that there was more money in pirating the works of Byron, Scott, Moore, and others, than in paying copyright to native authors of less ability. American writers had a set of contemporaries difficult to compete with. When they failed to secure the recognition that they felt to be their due they invariably raised the cry of servility to English criticism. That jealousy was at the bottom of the charge may be seen by the fact that both Irv-

¹ Goodrich, *Recollections*, ii., 111: "It was positively injurious to the commercial credit of a bookseller to undertake American works, unless they might be Morse's Geographies, classical books, schoolbooks, or something of that class. Nevertheless, about this time I published an edition of Trumbull's poems, in two volumes, octavo, and paid him a thousand dollars, and a hundred copies of the work, for the copyright. . . . I quietly pocketed a loss of about a thousand dollars."

ing¹ and Cooper² were accused of lack of patriotism as soon as their writings acquired a considerable sale abroad.

The servility consisted simply in the disposition of the reading public to buy good books cheap. It was always some other journal than the one making the charge that was guilty. And the few who did not indulge in this sort of recrimination may be searched almost in vain for examples of truckling to the literary judgment of England. At this very time the English and Scottish reviews were at the height of their power; and two or three attempts were made to republish selections from them in this country.³ But there is no evidence that these reprints were eminently successful, or that those who read them were fully in accord with the views they expressed. There was an unceasing protest against the unfairness with which the English quarterlies treated America. In 1819, Irving, though in need of money, declined an invitation to contribute to the *London Quarterly* at 100 guineas an article, because that periodical had always been hostile to his countrymen.⁴

Even English criticisms on English authors were quoted to be condemned fully as often as to be approved. In many cases American reviews show hostility to English writers evidently for no other reason than that they are English.⁵ On the other hand, the tendency to praise American authors was, if anything, excessive. Every one of the exaggerated laudations of popular

¹ Cincinnati Literary Gazette, March 5, 1825: "Mr. Irving has done much to lessen our self-respect. He could not submit his works to the test of his native air; his genius must be fanned by the breath of royalty. He could not rise or fall with his countrymen; but must engraft himself upon a foreign stock, till he almost lose his original *taste*, and become an exotic at home."

Literary and Scientific Repository, iv., 86: "Was the author of the Sketch Book so caressed and flattered till the English writers gave us the clue?"

² See Lounsbury, *Life of Cooper*, Chapters viii., ix.

³ The Athenaeum or Spirit of the English Magazines, Boston, 1817; and the New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, Philadelphia and New York, 1821: the latter a literal reprint of the London magazine of the same name.

⁴ Warner, *Life of Irving*, p. 117.

⁵ As examples, see a review of Blackwood's Magazine in the Atlantic Magazine, ii., 156, (New York, 1817); of The Lament of Tasso, in American Monthly Magazine and Review, i., 422 (New York, 1817); of Marino Faliero, in Literary and Scientific Repository, i., 91 (New York, 1821); and of Precaution, Ibid., ii., 371.

writers already quoted¹ can be paralleled by numerous effusions regarding American authors. Only one or two examples can be cited here.

The first is from a review of *Tales of a Traveler* in the *Atlantic Magazine*:² "Irving has thrown off, for the amusement of the reading public, which, in this country, comprises two-thirds of the adult population, another series of tales, which will be perused by all ages, sexes, and conditions, until English literature becomes a dead letter."

Another specimen, interesting both because it is from New England and because it is so late in the period, is to be found in the *New England Magazine*, for 1831.³ This is nominally a review of *Lectures on American Literature*, by Samuel L. Knapp, but it is very largely a glorification of America, and an attack on her calumniators. It treats of the beauty of American women, the great longevity induced by the climate, the great excellence of our domestic animals, and the stature of Americans—gravely referring to one man who was six feet nine inches tall as if he were a typical specimen. The reviewer says: "Long after the puny revilers of American genius shall have supplied the grocer with wrappings and the book-worm with food, the Lectures on American Literature will have a place in the library of the American scholar and minister to the instruction of American youth."

These lectures themselves are interesting. They treat of almost everything but American literature, of which very little is said.

Finally, it might be said that the charge of servility to English taste at this time involves a self-contradiction. England was in the midst of a confused literary controversy. There were ultra-conservatives, moderate conservatives, and radicals and innovators of all sorts and degrees. It must be a fastidious reader who could not find among them all, some with whose doc-

¹ Byron, p. 16; Moore, p. 16, note; Mrs. Hemans, p. 17, note.

² Volume i., page 390.

³ Volume i., page 415.

trines of taste he would agree. To say simply that America followed England could mean little unless it meant that the Americans were abject enough to admire English authors and at the same time to admire the reviews that abused them.

This feeling of literary independence was especially marked in the west, where it was nourished by the free spirit of the pioneer, and by persistent traditions of earlier conflicts. It seems also (but one cannot speak with much certainty) to have been stronger in New England than in New York and Philadelphia, which were now in closer commercial touch with the mother country.

The disposition to be too self-assertive doubtless did a good deal of harm to the cause of American letters; but it must not be supposed that it was always carried to excess. Lowell conveys a wrong impression when he says:¹ "Criticism there was none, and what assumed its function was half provincial self-conceit, half patriotic resolve to find swans in birds of quite another species." Criticism there was a great deal, and much of it was of a surprisingly high grade. Some of the laudations and invectives that have been cited as extreme examples show by the very English in which they are written that they are not representative of the best judgment of the country. To a considerable extent they were the result of an attempt to imitate the slashing style of the British periodicals. But there was produced a considerable body of critical writings of which no nation need have been ashamed. The reader is continually surprised to find American criticisms which pronounce verdicts almost identical with those which have been given by the subsequent judgment of seventy-five years—verdicts not alone on the right of books to hold a place in literature, but on the nature of their merits and defects. This is especially true in case of English works, where, as has already been said, distance gave a chance for a fair view. Such comparisons are always dangerous; but it is probably not rash to say that the judgment of today upon Byron, Wordsworth, Scott, and others, was more accurately ex-

¹ Toast, "Our Literature."

pressed by the best American criticism than in any reviews of their works that appeared in Great Britain during the same time.

Literary self-consciousness showed itself not only nationally, but locally and individually. A great nation, with a great literature, must have a center of culture; and why should not this distinction fall to Boston, or New York, or Cincinnati, or any other postoffice where an aspiring poet chanced to get his mail? The standard formula seems to have been "Athens of ———," and one or more cities in every state and section were self-styled in this way. Boston was spoken of as "The Literary Emporium" in 1824.¹ Cities were no more modest in showing forth their virtues than they are today. The prospectus of the *American Quarterly Review* says:² "Philadelphia has within herself a large fund of talent, erudition, and science—larger perhaps than any other American city can boast." Judging from the context this statement is intended to be modest.

A great literature must be produced by great writers; and the course of reasoning in the minds of many prospective authors seemed to be: Since American literature is all to be written, why should not I be its Homer, or its Shakespeare, or at least its Addison? These were in most cases the men of smaller ability, though Cooper had something of the feeling. But those who were modest enough to doubt their own greatness were eagerly looking for the prophets to appear.

One amusing illustration of the serious way in which our literature was looked upon may be found in the attempt to establish an American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres. A circular dated Oct. 1, 1820, says:³ "The objects of such an institution which directly present themselves, are, to collect and interchange literary intelligence; to guard against local or foreign corruptions, or to correct such as already exist; to settle varying orthography; determine the use of doubtful words and phrases; and generally, to form and maintain, as far as practicable, an English standard of writing and pronunciation, cor-

¹ S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 37.

² Philadelphia, 1827.

³ *Literary and Scientific Repository*, ii., 63.

rect, fixed, and uniform, throughout our extensive territory. Connected with this, and according to future ability, may be such rewards for meritorious productions, and such incentives to improvement in the language and literature of our country, and in the general system of instruction, as from existing circumstances may become proper." To guard against misapprehension, it is stated: "It is not designed, independent of England, to form an American language, farther than as it relates to the numerous and increasing names and terms peculiarly American."

The plan of the organization was as follows: "Members to be divided into three classes, Resident, who reside in New York; Corresponding, those whose distance prevents their regular attendance; and Honorary, those at home or abroad whom the body may think proper expressly to admit as such." Corresponding members were to vote on all propositions by writing.

The statement of objects is followed by a very patriotic argument in favor of such an Academy, which was said to be especially necessary in the United States on account of the size of the country, and the danger that provincialisms might become troublesome. The headquarters of the Academy were to be in New York. It was to start with 50 members, and the maximum membership was to be 120. The circular is signed by William S. Cardell, and is accompanied by a number of letters from men who had been asked to express their opinions of the scheme. One thinks it may be of great use in restoring "purity of taste," which he explains to be the proper recognition of Pope, Dryden, etc., as against contemporary English writers. Others suggest their own pet ways in which the organization may accomplish good; together these communications form an interesting declaration of literary independence.

The Academy had a distinguished list of officers, though how they were chosen does not appear. They were: President, John Quincy Adams; vice-presidents, Hon. Brockholst Livingston, Hon. Joseph Story, Hon. Wm. Lowndes; corresponding secretary, Wm. S. Cardell; recording secretary, Alex. McLeod, D. D.;

treasurer, John Stearns, M. D.; counselors, Daniel Webster, Thos. C. Brownell, D. D., LL. D., John M. Mason, D. D., Joseph Hopkinson, LL. D., Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL. D., John Augustin Smith, M. D., president of William and Mary College, Hon. John Lewis Taylor, chief justice of North Carolina, Hon. Henry Clay, Washington Irving, James Kent, LL. D.; Honorary members, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Jay, Chas. C. Pinckney, James Monroe, John Trumbull, LL. D.

As has been said, the seat of the Academy was to be in New York. In the *North American Review*¹ Edward Everett, representing the New England literary set, makes fun of the whole scheme, and finally calls it "One of the most signal displays of unprofitable farce-making we have ever witnessed." Among other things, he accuses the promoters of using the names of persons without their consent.

The society proposed a medal to Mr. Chas. Botta for his history of the American revolution, also medals for the best history of the United States, book of reading selections, and best popular treatise on natural philosophy, or natural science. Its subsequent history is lost in oblivion. Indeed it is hard to judge whether there were much more to the movement than the ambitions of the corresponding secretary, of whose enthusiasm there can be no doubt.

PERIODICALS.

A still more significant indication of the self-conscious tendency, and indeed the most significant literary fact of the period, is the founding of magazines. The industries of book-publishing, book-advertising, and book-selling had not reached their present development, and the issue of a volume by any one author was rather more of an undertaking than it is today. A magazine, however, could be started with slight financial backing, and could be filled with short miscellaneous contributions by a variety of authors—material not suitable for publication in

¹ Volume xiv., page 350 (1822).

a more pretentious form. At this time no single periodical enjoyed the prestige now held by a few of our leading reviews and magazines. Naturally enough, there sprang up in almost every city, and in many country towns, one or more publications representative of the literary culture and aspirations of that particular locality. It is in these, rather than in the books of the time, that the student must trace the literary development of the nation.

Writers on this period seem not to have realized the number of these periodicals, or their value as indications both of national characteristics and of local peculiarities. The studies in preparation for this paper, have been carried on almost entirely in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and the number of such publications discovered in this one collection was a complete surprise, not only to the writer, but to all to whom he has shown the results of his investigation.

It is very hard to decide where the line should be drawn between newspapers and magazines. For the purpose of this study, periodicals in which the reporting of current events is made at all prominent have not been considered. On this principle, many religious and "family" papers have been excluded, even though they contain much literary matter. In cases of serious doubt, it has been assumed to a slight extent that a weekly was a newspaper unless it was clearly something else, while in case of a monthly the opposite has been assumed to be true. Scientific magazines have been included if they were intended for general readers, not if they were purely technical. A new series has been counted as a new magazine only in case no information could be obtained regarding the first series, or in case the magazine underwent a radical change.

In the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin the writer has found 137 periodicals begun between 1815 and 1833 which, according to the above test, he has considered as "literary." It must be remembered that this is the result of investigation in one library alone, and it is impossible to say how far the list might be extended by research elsewhere. There are no

complete check-lists or other guides for buyers of these periodicals, and catalogues of other libraries are not so arranged as to show readily what they include in this line. As far as can be judged from the meager data gained by inspection of lists and by correspondence, no library surpasses that of the Historical Society of Wisconsin in the number of these periodicals; but it is certain that this collection is not yet even approximately complete. The writer hopes that the publication of this study may make it easier to acquire more data regarding our early periodical literature.

In Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* are catalogued 31 periodicals that had their beginnings in this period, 29 of which are found in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.¹ For convenience, a list of these journals is given in Appendix A. The remaining 108 periodicals, to be found in this library, are listed in Appendix B. Appendix C contains a miscellaneous list of periodicals that have not been seen, and that are therefore not included in the tabulations that follow. Some of these are known to have been established between 1815 and 1833; others were issued during this period, but the exact date of founding is not known.

Of the 139 periodicals that have been examined, about 50 were religious in character; half a dozen were organs of reforms, such as temperance, colonization of the negroes, etc.; and perhaps an equal number were devoted almost exclusively to science and the arts. The rest were more purely literary.

The religious periodicals may well be counted with the others because they have a literary as well as a religious character. Many of them review books of general literature, comment on events of general interest, and study the intellectual movements of the time in their relations to religious thought. They were produced, not by a religious impulse or by a literary impulse alone, but by both acting together. They vary from 4 to 250 pages to the issue, and differ almost as widely in character as in size. Some were scholarly reviews, displaying an amount

¹ The two not in this library are the *American Institute of Instruction* and the *Select Journal*.

of erudition that appalls a modern reader.¹ Several were devoted to the controversy between the Unitarians and the Congregationalists; and one to a similar difference among the Quakers.² Several were denominational organs; and several were published in the interests of missionary societies—especially during the latter part of the period, when the missionary movement had gained considerable force. There were also two or three Sunday-school papers, the predecessors of the great number that are published today; but evidently distributed to regular subscribers, and not as premiums for attendance. In the West, exact theological discussions had a lesser place. Magazines were smaller in bulk, and were sometimes less reserved in tone than those in the East—the emotional element in religion receiving more attention.³

Of the scientific and technical journals nothing need be said except that they illustrate the interest in all branches of knowledge.

The rest of the list is composed of reviews and miscellaneous literary and family journals. A number of magazines, among them those in the West, were of a general character, and contained fiction, reviews, poetry, scientific articles, and miscellaneous essays;⁴ but there was a tendency, especially among those indexed in Poole, to be ambitious, and to engage in religious controversy, or to settle weighty matters after the manner of the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*. The *American Quarterly Review*, of Philadelphia, was avowedly modeled after these journals. For an

¹ For example, the *American Biblical Repository*, with Hebrew index, Greek index, and English index to each volume.

² *The Friend*.

³ The *Calvinistic Magazine*, Rogersville, Tenn., 1827, contains the following dedication: "To thy cause, Triune Jehovah, we devote this work. May thy blessing go with it. May sinners be brought to the Saviour, saints advanced in the divine life, and thy kingdom promoted.—And when the dead, small and great, shall stand at thy bar, O may the readers and conductors of this work, with robes washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, enter into the joy of their Lord, and swell the anthem of redeeming love, when earth and time shall be no more." This could hardly be paralleled from an eastern magazine of the time.

⁴ Examples are the *Western Review* and the *Western Monthly Magazine*; and, in the East, the *Atlantic Magazine*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *North American Review* for the first few volumes.

extreme example of American heaviness, the reader has only to refer to this review, each number of which contained 250 uninviting pages in fine type.

For the ladies there were many lighter magazines, with or without colored fashion-plates. These were always advertised as "highly moral." They usually contained some poetry (Mrs. Sigourney being the favorite author), some "advice," and a considerable amount of slow fiction, in which nature was always described at its loveliest, and virtue always received its reward. All gave lists of marriages, and a few of them brief summaries of other events. They covered the field occupied to-day by a host of papers ranging from the *Ladies' Home Journal* to the *New York Weekly* and the *Fireside Companion*.¹

Another class of magazines aimed to educate the masses. The editor of the *Family Magazine*, New York, 1833, begins an announcement: "Undertaking, as we do, to furnish a *system* of *general*² knowledge,——." The headings in this journal are Natural History, Literature, History, Mythology, Biography.³ Along the same line were the "Libraries," cheap reprints, in periodical form, of standard books. Two of these were started in Philadelphia in 1833,⁴ one publishing somewhat heavier works than the other. Two or three early attempts at college journalism are also included in the list.⁵

Hope must have sprung eternal in the breasts of the editors and publishers of these magazines, or they would have foreseen the failure that almost surely awaited them. A few ventures, like the *North American Review*, met a need, and finally established themselves on firm footing. Some, especially among the religious magazines, were organs of denominations or societies, and so were assured of contributors and subscribers. The great

¹ See the *Ladies' Magazine* and *Literary Gazette*, Godey's *Lady's Book*, the *Boston Pearl*, the *New York Mirror*, the *Casket*, etc., etc.

² Italics those of the original.

³ See also the *People's Magazine*, the *Family Lyceum*, the *Cabinet of Instruction*, *Literature*, and *Amusement*.

⁴ Waldie's and Greenbank's.

⁵ The *Virginia Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres*, University of Virginia; the *Literary Tablet* and the *Literary Focus*, Miami.

majority, however, came into existence as the result of misguided enthusiasm, and resulted in literary and financial bankruptcy. Every one was ready to admit that a literary magazine was a good thing, but few had the ability, and fewer the time, to furnish readable articles. "We take no pride in writing it all ourselves," says one struggling editor,¹ a few months after his prospectus² has dwelt on the wide scope of his magazine, and the long list of able contributors whose aid was assured. His experience was that of the majority. Calls for contributions were so frequent that the ingenuity of the editor was taxed to devise new wordings. Gentlemen whose early opportunities had been neglected were urged to send in their productions with the assurance that details of spelling and grammar would be attended to in the office. Still the contributions did not come. One man³ wrote all the first number of the *North American Review* except one poem. Of course this state of things did not continue long in case of the *North American*, and the editor soon had the luxury of being able to decline contributions.

Doubtless subscriptions were even harder to secure than articles; but of this we hear little until the journal closes its career with a mournful valedictory,⁴ or suddenly comes to an end without any explanation.

The fate of previous attempts did not in the least discourage those who had new plans. Men could not believe that a country so great as ours was destined to be would not support a legitimate literary enterprise. The following analogy, used in the announcement of a new magazine, is illustrative of hopefulness, if not of logic: "It is true that the magazines which have been mentioned by name, and many others, were successively discontinued; but this no more proves that they were not extensively

¹ *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, i., 144.

² This prospectus is an interesting piece of flowery western prose. The objects of the magazine are set forth at length. Among other things the reader is told: "We wish to collect the scattered rays of intelligence which are dispersed over our country, and by concentrating those beams which are now glimmering singly and feebly, to produce a steady brilliance which may illumine the land." The magazine survived two years.

³ Tudor.

⁴ The one in the last number of the *Western Review* is very good.

useful, than the death or removal of a minister proves that his labors, through a long succession of years, were of no value to his people, or to the church at large."¹ Editors went from the failure of one enterprise to the beginning of the next with confidence undiminished.

The geographical distribution of these periodicals will be considered later. The distribution by years is shown in the following table:

PERIODICALS FOUNDED EACH YEAR FROM 1815 TO 1833.

Year.	In Poole.	Not in Poole.	Total.
1815	1	2	3
1816		4	4
1817		9	9
1818	1	5	6
1819	3	2	5
1820	1	1	2
1821		5	5
1822	1	5	6
1823		5	5
1824	1	9	10
1825	3	1	4
1826	2	6	8
1827	2	8	10
1828	3	15	18
1829	2	4	6
1830	1	9	10
1831	4	2	6
1832	1	8	9
1833	5	8	13

At first glance this table seems to signify little. A closer examination reveals the existence of a period of activity from about 1816 to 1818; a period of depression following this, until about 1826; and a considerable activity from this date till 1833 (and afterward). The six journals beginning in 1822 and the ten in 1824 were not of such a nature as to be very signif-

¹ Spirit of the Pilgrims, I, 4.

cant.¹ The enthusiasm following the war led to the immediate establishment of a large number of periodicals; the failure of these produced a temporary reaction; and a decade later the movement was resumed. A considerable number of the magazines begun in the later years of the period were religious. Of this time also are most of the attempts to enlighten the masses² and a considerable number of the lighter and ladies' magazines.³

THE ANNUALS.

As if the magazines were not numerous enough to give every aspiring author a chance to publish his work, further opportunity was given by the annuals. These were gift-books with fanciful titles⁴ and elaborate bindings, containing light miscellany in prose and verse, and usually a number of engravings. They made their appearance just before the holiday season, and were the fashionable remembrances of the day. The idea was borrowed from England,⁵ and is traced by some back through the French to Germany; but it found an excellent opportunity for development in a country where every one was anxiously looking for the coming of a national literature. The number of these books increased year by year, until the fad died as all fads do. Probably the only survival today is to be found in the elaborate volumes issued by the students of some

¹ Among them were, in 1822, the Museum of Foreign Literature, Philadelphia; the Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information, Baltimore; the Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor, New Haven; the Utica Christian Repository; the Ohio Miscellaneous Museum, Lebanon; and the Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal, New York; in 1824, the Telescope, New York; the Christian Telescope, Providence; the Evangelist, Hartford; the Rural Repository, Hudson, N. Y.; the Columbian Historian, New Richmond, Ohio; the Canadian Review, Montreal.

² The Cabinet of Instruction, Literature and Amusement, 1828; the Family Lyceum, 1832; the Select Circulating Library, Greenbank's Periodical Library, the People's Magazine, the Family Magazine, 1833.

³ The Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio, the Souvenir, the Casket or Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment, 1827; the Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette, the Worcester Talisman, 1828; the Rochester Gem, 1829; Godey's Lady's Book, 1830; the Boston Pearl, the Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature and Science, 1831; the Magnolia, or Literary Tablet, 1833.

⁴ Among those for 1829 were the Token, the Pearl, the Talisman, the Atlantic Souvenir, the Remember Me, the Casket, the Literary Souvenir, the Western Souvenir.

⁵ Readers of George Eliot will recall a reference to them in Middlemarch.

colleges; though the "magazinelets" of the last few years express the same spirit.

Some of these year-books depended mainly on the arts of the printer and the binder for their attractiveness, while others had more merit. Almost all our better authors contributed to them, as did Tennyson and many others in England; but one or two well-known names were used then as now to float a good deal of trashy material. Among the best for literary merit, though not remarkable for mechanical excellence, is *The Talisman*, written by Bryant, Verplanck, and Sands, and illustrated by Inman, S. F. B. Morse, and others. This was issued for three years, 1828, 1829, and 1830.

EFFECTS OF THE SELF-CONSCIOUS TENDENCY.

Introspection regarding literary matters had its advantages. It was no doubt well that the nation should be stimulated to an interest in letters, and better that it should be stimulated by foolish ideas than not at all. But there were also disadvantages. Extreme self-consciousness in literary matters is not conducive to the best employment of individual talent, and during the time under consideration no great literary masterpiece was produced. It is noticeable that no writers of that day are now read more than Irving and Bryant, who were among those least carried away by extravagant notions.

HASTE.

The reason why so many of these early productions have not survived may be found not so much in lack of genius as in haste and carelessness in composition. A tendency to rush into print cannot be counted unnatural in a new country, where all is activity, where few men have the means for lives of leisure, and where in many cases time for careful revision cannot be found.

In this connection it is noteworthy that many authors of this time were engaged in commercial pursuits. Halleck was a clerk in a counting-house; Drake was "in merchandise," and,

after he studied medicine, conducted a drug store in connection with his practice; Charles Sprague was for many years a bank cashier in Boston; Payne began life as a clerk, and Pierpont was at one time a merchant. Charles P. Clinch,¹ once well known as critic, dramatist, and poet, was in early life secretary to a shipbuilder, and for nearly half a century was deputy collector of the port of New York.

On the other hand, the proportion of authors from the professions of law and divinity was smaller than might have been expected. The theologians were engaged in their controversies, and had little time for general literature. Perhaps the brightest lawyers found their most congenial activity in politics. Professors in the colleges contributed their fair share of reviews and special articles to the magazines, but published little else. It must be remembered that whatever the life of the average college professor may be today, it was not one of leisure then, as may be seen by a glance at the number of subjects taught by one man.²

The remuneration that authors received for their works was not enough to make literature possible as a means of support, except for a few favorites, like Irving and Cooper. In many cases nothing was paid for magazine articles, and the compensation was probably never great.³ As is so often the case, the amounts received for literary productions were determined by almost anything except the merits of the writings themselves. Bryant set the price of \$2 upon each of his shorter poems in

¹ Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 394.

² In 1880 Harvard had but 16 members on the instructional force, and Yale 14. The faculties of the smaller colleges averaged hardly half as many.

³ The Announcement of the Christian Advocate for 1823 says: "Account or apologize for it as we may, it is still a fact deeply to be regretted, that in our country literary labour has hitherto received no adequate remuneration. This is the *real* cause that so few books of solid value, of whatever description, have been written and published in the United States; and it is the *acknowledged* cause that periodical publications have so often been deficient in merit and short in duration. As a matter of justice, then, and believing that in this, as in every other concern, equity and true policy are inseparable, it has been determined that for every composition inserted in the Christian Advocate, the author, unless he voluntarily declines it, shall receive a pecuniary compensation to the full extent as liberal as the avails of the work will permit." Italics are those of the original.

1822;¹ and his earlier volumes brought in nothing worth considering. On the other hand, George P. Morris, who, with his writings, is now forgotten, could sell a song unread for \$50 at any time; and in 1825 wrote *Briar Cliff*, a drama, for the copyright of which he received \$3,500.² John Howard Payne also received handsome sums for his dramas. Trumbull got \$1,000 for the copyright of a single edition of his poems, though his publisher lost money by it.³ These men caught the popular ear, and were paid for popularity; but there were not many such. Much of the best work was done without thought or possibility of remuneration.

Of writers who could fairly be called literary men, a large number were actively connected with the periodical press, either holding positions on the staffs of daily papers, or editing some of the numerous magazines and reviews.⁴ In nearly all cases the editor had a financial interest in the periodical, and in some instances undertook the entire business management. Such a life must have been even less conducive to repose than that of a broker's clerk or a bank cashier.

These positions were not sinecures. In 1822 Sedgwick writes regarding the editor of the *Atlantic Magazine*: "Bliss and White, his publishers, are liberal gentlemen; they pay him \$500 a year, and authorize an expenditure of \$500 more." This latter figure gives a basis for some interesting computations as to the pay of contributors.

The tendency toward haste was increased by other causes, one of which was the desire to get into print before any one else, and so secure a place with the fathers of American literature. Still more important was the influence of English writers. As has been seen, the most popular were Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth. The example of all these, if not in

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, I., 192.

² Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, p. 403.

³ See note, p. 29.

⁴ Dana, Bryant, Poe, Sands, Wm. L. Stone, N. P. Willis, and Samuel Woodworth were a few of the best known men who were engaged in editorial work. It is evident that if every magazine started during this time had a "man of letters" as editor, the supply must have been pretty well exhausted.

favor of quantity rather than quality, was certainly not in favor of careful revision. Early literary success in this country had a similar influence. Cooper wrote as profusely as did Scott,¹ and had a dazzling popularity. Irving's model, after 1815, was the Addisonian essay; and this, though not in reality easy to write, is likely to seem so to the inexperienced reader. Probably the widest success in poetry was attained by the Croaker papers, dashed off from day to day to hit the prevailing foibles.

Traditions of work done rapidly were carefully preserved. *The Old Oaken Bucket* is said to have been composed in less than half an hour, on an inspiration derived from a remark at a dinner party.² Goodrich, in his *Recollections*,³ tells with much gusto of the composition of Brainard's once famous lines to Niagara, the points most emphasized being that the poem was written in twenty minutes, and that Brainard had never been within five hundred miles of the falls. Admirers of Neal tell that: "Between October, 1821, and March, 1822, he wrote and published no less than eight large duodecimos, besides writing for the *Telegraph* newspaper and the *Portico* magazine, and studying, after a desultory fashion, four or five languages."⁴ Bryant stands almost alone in the practice of withholding his poems until they had been subjected to his own cool judgment; and in his critical writings he frequently felt it necessary to advise against lack of pains-taking. In a review article,⁵ after speaking of haste as the besetting sin of the writers of the day in America, he says: "There is a respect due to the literary world which should restrain an author from publishing his work before he has made it as perfect as he is able; in like manner as the decorums of civilized society restrain us from ushering ourselves into a polite assembly with a long beard, an unbrushed coat, and dirty boots."

¹ Between 1820 and 1830 he published 11 novels, besides other writings.

² Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 379.

³ Volume ii., page 148.

⁴ Scharf's History of Baltimore, p. 643. Logan was written in six or eight weeks; Randolph in 36 days; Seventy-six in 27 days; and Errata in 39 days.

⁵ A review of Pickering's Ruins of Paestum, North American Review, xix., 42.

In marked contrast with his method stands that of a man like Percival, in whose works a few passages of wonderful beauty are found here and there in masses of unrevised Byronic verse.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

The distribution of magazines indicates pretty clearly the centers of literary activity. The three points of greatest interest in the East are New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. In the West, Lexington and Cincinnati made the greatest pretensions to literary culture. Baltimore must be treated apart from the rest of the South.

THE KNICKERBOCKER SCHOOL.

During these formative years the center of literary production was New York. The material advance of the city just after the war has been seen; and commercial prosperity always brings certain opportunities for literary workers. New York was already a publishing center. The establishment of the Harpers dates from 1818. New York newspapers were soon admittedly the best in the United States. Here, too, were produced,—whether by chance or because of occult influence, those who wish may speculate,—the two first American writers to win fame abroad. It was natural that young New England men like Bryant, who would naturally have gone to Boston, should be attracted by the advantages of the metropolis. Even men who continued to live in New England, like Dana, had many affiliations with the New York set; indeed, the same might be said of authors like Simms, who lived in the South, or like Poe, who lived nowhere in particular.¹

The best remembered names of the Knickerbocker school are Irving and Cooper in prose, and Bryant, Halleck, and Drake in verse. To these should be added Sands, Paulding, Verplanck, Woodworth, Hillhouse, and many others, who, though now al-

¹ Both Dana and Poe are classed as Knickerbocker writers by Wilson, Bryant and his Friends. Simms' presence in New York is often mentioned.

most forgotten, were once mentioned with the greatest names of English literature.¹

New York in these days was of course not the unwieldy metropolis that it is now. Men knew each other better, and young men of talent had plenty of opportunity to make acquaintances. Several clubs were in existence, modeled somewhat on those of Addison's time. One of these, the Bread and Cheese Club, founded by Cooper, was frequented by eminent lawyers, artists, professors in Columbia College, and writers like Percival, Halleck, Hillhouse, and Sands.² At a little later time the Sketch Club, or the XXI., included some of the same men, among the members being Bryant, Verplanck, Halleck, Henry, and John Inman, S. F. B. Morse, Hillhouse, Cole, and Ingham. Meetings were often held at Hoboken, and here several members planned and wrote *The Talisman*.³ The Athenaeum society arranged for popular lectures on topics connected with art and literature. Bryant delivered a course under its auspices in 1820, on the subject of *Poetry*.⁴

The connection between artists and literary men seems to have been close. They mingled in the same clubs; Morse, Inman, Allston, and others turned their hands to verse and prose occasionally; and Bryant lectured on *Mythology* before the newly-founded Academy of The Arts of Design.

The periodicals begun in New York from 1815 to 1833 are given below, arranged by years. This list includes only those in Poole, and others that have been examined, and is of course incomplete.

NEW YORK PERIODICALS.

1816. The Christian Herald.

The Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review.

¹ For a much longer list, including both earlier and later writers, see Wilson, Bryant and his Friends.

² Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 208.

³ Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, 400.

⁴ Synopses of these lectures are included in his collected works.

1817. The Weekly Visitor and Ladies' Museum.
The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review.
The Christian Journal and Literary Register.
The Evangelical Guardian and Review.
1818. The (American) Methodist Magazine.
1819. The Ladies' Literary Cabinet.
The American Journal of Science.
1820. The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review.
1822. The Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal.
1823. The New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette.
1824. The Atlantic Magazine.
The Telescope.
1825. The American Annual Register.
1827. The Olive Branch.
1828. The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature, Fine Arts and the Drama.
The Cabinet of Instruction, Literature, and Amusement.
The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal.
The Free Enquirer.
The Atlas.
The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal.
1831. American Biblical Repository.
1832. The Spirit of Practical Godliness.
American Railroad Journal and Mechanic's Magazine.
The New York and Richmond County Free Press.
1833. American Monthly Magazine.
Knickerbocker Magazine.
The Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge.
The Mechanics' Magazine and Register of Inventions and Improvements.

Unless some important periodicals are not included in this list—which is unlikely,—the purely literary publications of high grade were not so numerous as might be supposed. The

various ladies' magazines, cabinets, etc., were light in character. In the early part of the period, the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, and later the *Literary and Scientific Repository* and *Critical Review*, were serious and solid. The *Atlantic Magazine* was amalgamated after one year with an earlier periodical to form the *New York Review and Athenaeum Magazine*; and shortly afterward was merged with the *U. S. Gazette* of Boston. Bryant and Sands were among the editors while it was still in New York; and among the contributors were Halleck, Dana, Willis, Longfellow, Bancroft, and Caleb Cushing. The *American Monthly Magazine* and the *Knickerbocker Magazine* were late attempts of a serious character.

Although these magazines were not quite what might have been expected, there was plenty of opportunity for authors to publish. The daily papers were open to verses and sometimes to other work of a purely literary character. The Boston magazines were also willing to receive contributions of merit, and New York men made use of them freely.

As has been said, Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* appeared in 1809, and therefore belongs to an earlier period. One of its chief missions was to show that the new world could produce a readable book. After the publication of this work the author was silent for ten years, until the advent of the *Sketch-Book* in 1819. In this same year appeared the *Croaker* poems, by Drake and Halleck, satires on topics of the day, published in the *Evening Post*. The authorship was kept a secret, and this no doubt increased the excitement which they caused. Today these poems seem flat enough; but we are told that they were the one topic of conversation in New York, and that men held their breath every day until the paper was issued, and it was known what person or fad had been lampooned.¹ In 1820 came Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*, and a year later his first marked success, the *Spy*. Bryant's first volume of verse made its appearance in 1821.² Other works issued in these three

¹ See J. G. Wilson, introduction to Halleck's Works, page vii.

² His juvenile diatribe, *The Embargo*, was written in 1808, when the author was but 13 years of age. *Thanatopsis* was published in the *North American Review* for 1817, but had been composed earlier.

years were Halleck's *Fanny*, Verplanck's *Bucktail Bards*, Dana's *Idle Man*, the first edition of Percival's poems, and two dramas by Hillhouse.

It has been seen that after 1818 came a period of depression, so to speak, in the industry of founding magazines. It is probable that the success of American writers in these years restored confidence, and led to the activity in starting periodicals that has been noticed for a later period.

BOSTON.

Although the first place is due to New York, so far as literary achievements at this time are concerned, it must not be supposed that Boston was inactive. Both before and after this period her literary supremacy was undoubted. Just now she freely conceded the superior genius of the Knickerbocker writers.¹ But it was claimed, perhaps with justice, that the New England city was the seat of a truer and more widely diffused culture than was to be found anywhere else in America.

The Boston journals that have been examined are:

BOSTON PERIODICALS.

- 1815. North American Review.
- 1817. The Atheneum or Spirit of the English Magazines.
The New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine.
- 1818. The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer.
- 1819. Christian Disciple.
- 1822. The Boston Medical Intelligencer.
- 1824. Christian Examiner.
- 1825. United States Literary Gazette.
Boston Monthly Magazine.
- 1826. American Journal of Education.
- 1828. Spirit of the Pilgrims.

¹ The New England Magazine, of Boston, for 1831-3 gave a series of "Literary Portraits" of American poets. The three given first are Halleck, Bryant, and Percival; Chas. Sprague and Miss H. F. Gould follow, but the comments upon these indicate that they were not considered the equals of those mentioned before.

- The Yankee, and Boston Literary Gazette.
 The Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette.
1830. American Almanac.
 Mechanic's Magazine and Journal of Public Internal
 Improvement.
 American Annals of Education and Instruction.
1831. American Institute of Instruction.
 New England Magazine.
 The Boston Pearl, a Gazette of Polite Literature.
1832. American Monthly Review.
 The Family Lyceum.
1833. American Quarterly Observer.
 Select Journal.
 The People's Magazine.

Boston led, even at this time, in the number and the character of her literary magazines.¹ The relatively small number established in the early years of the period is significant of the depression in New England just after the war. Before 1825 the *North American* was the only important journal of a strictly literary type. After this date the *United States Literary Gazette*, the *Boston Monthly Magazine*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *American Monthly Review*, though all short-lived, were well-meant attempts to print literature of high grade.

The *United States Literary Gazette* was edited by Theophilus Parsons. After its amalgamation with the *New York Literary Gazette* in 1826, it became the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, and was edited successively by James G. Carter and Charles Folsom. Longfellow contributed both to this and to the *American Monthly Magazine* before he graduated from college. The *New England Magazine*, published by J. T. and E. Buckingham, contains, among other articles of interest, the first two installments of the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*.

¹ In Poole are indexed 12 periodicals of this time from Boston, 5 from New York, and 3 from Philadelphia. This proportion is in part accounted for by the excellence of the Boston publications, in part, no doubt, by the enthusiasm of some patriotic librarian. It is to be regretted that several other magazines, notably some from New York and Philadelphia, have not been included and thus made available to the general student.

The North American Review, established in the year with which this study begins, and continuing to the present time, is worthy of especial consideration. It was founded by William Tudor, a member of the Anthology Club, which published the *Monthly Anthology* from 1803 to 1811. Associated with Tudor in the early days were Buckminster, J. Q. Adams, George Ticknor, Dr. John Sylvester, John Gardner, and others. Tudor wrote all the articles in the first number except one short poem. The *Review* was at first published every two months in numbers of 150 pages each; after the 7th volume it was issued quarterly. At first it was of a general literary character, but when it became a quarterly it ceased to publish poetry and general news. In 1817 control of the magazine passed to Judge Willard Phillips, and a little later to a group of young men, mostly lawyers, who chose Jared Sparks as general manager. In 1819 Sparks went to Baltimore, and was succeeded by Edward T. Channing. Soon after, the latter was appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, and Edward Everett assumed control. Dana had been associated with Channing, and was mentioned for editor, but "was considered too unpopular."¹ He resigned from the editorial staff, and left the Anthology Club. In 1822 the magazine was again transferred to Sparks, who managed it until 1830, when he was succeeded by Alexander H. Everett, brother of Edward.²

Possibly one reason why Boston produced so little of lasting literary value at this time was that the city was the center of the intense theological controversy that has already been noticed. Some of the brightest minds were engaged in this controversy, but the writings that resulted will never be read again except by the historical student.

Next to Dana, who was somewhat erratic, and who never fitted in well with his contemporaries, perhaps the most popular writer was Charles Sprague, the banker-poet. Sprague was famous as the author of several pieces of verse made to order,

¹ Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, ii., 90.

² See an article by Poole in *Hist. Mag.*, iii., 343. This gives a list of contributors from 1815 to 1859, with the date of the first contribution of each.

among them prologues for the opening of theatres in New York and Philadelphia, a prize ode on *Shakespeare*, and a Phi Beta Kappa poem on *Curiosity*, usually considered his best. These are really very good of their kind; but the pride that Boston took in them and their author seems a little strange.¹

OTHER NEW ENGLAND CITIES.

Boston was the only really important literary center in New England. Next on the list, though not at all comparable, should come New Haven, the seat of a rival college. Since the literary life of a city at this time was pretty well shown by its periodicals, the following grouping of New England magazines is of interest:

NEW ENGLAND PERIODICALS.

New Haven.	1819. Christian Monthly Spectator.
	1822. Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor.
	1829. Christian Quarterly Spectator.
Worcester.	1826. Worcester Magazine.
	1828. Worcester Talisman.
Andover.	1829. American Quarterly Register.
Portsmouth, N. H.	1818. The Christian Herald.
Hartford.	1821. The Religious Inquirer.
	1824. The Evangelist.
	1826. The Literary Casket.
	Supplement to the Connecticut Courant.
Cambridge.	1815. The Friend of Peace.

It will be noticed that most of these were religious; and none were of especial literary value. The *Worcester Magazine* was devoted to local history. The *Literary Casket* was rather light. The *Supplement to the Connecticut Courant* contained miscellaneous matter similar to much that is found in the best of the Sunday dailies at the present time.

¹ For a "literary portrait" of Sprague, see the *New England Magazine*, iiii., 89 (1832).

PHILADELPHIA.

"Philadelphia in 1800 was still the intellectual center of the nation."¹ By 1815 this prestige had been lost; but the city was still the home of much culture. The tone of its intellectual life differed from that of either New York or Boston, and was indeed somewhat peculiar. This can perhaps be inferred from the nature of the periodicals in the following list:

PHILADELPHIA MAGAZINES.

- 1817. The American Register, or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature.
- 1818. The Quarterly Theological Review.
The Latter Day Luminary.
- 1821. The Presbyterian Magazine.
The Literary Gazette, or Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts.
The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal.
(London, reprinted in Phila.)
- 1822. Museum of Foreign Literature.
- 1823. The American Sunday School Magazine.
The Christian Advocate.
- 1826. The Church Register.
Journal of the Franklin Institute.
The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette.
- 1827. American Quarterly Review.
The Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio.
The Souvenir.
The Casket; or Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment.
- 1828. The Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews.
The Register of Pennsylvania.
The Friend.
The Christian Magazine and Clerical Review.

¹ Adams, *History of the United States*, I, 117.

1830. Godey's Lady's Book.
The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register.
The Journal of Law.
The Journal of Health.
1832. The North American Magazine.
1833. Greenbank's Periodical Library.
The Select Circulating Library.

It was the Philadelphia idea that things should be done thoroughly and profoundly. The very sub-titles in the foregoing list—*"Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature," "Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts,"* etc.—are indications of this spirit of thoroughness. Possibly Franklin was in part responsible for the disposition to cover the whole ground of knowledge, including science. The profundity of the *American Quarterly Review* has already been noted.¹ The *Quarterly Theological Review* printed nothing but reviews and a list of new publications—scorning all extraneous matter. There seemed to be a feeling that the best in the literature of the world should be made easily accessible to the inhabitants of the Quaker city. This is illustrated by the number of reprints—a form of publication almost peculiar to Philadelphia.² The various ladies' magazines were much like others of their class, though possibly they aimed a little more at instruction and less at amusement than was usual.

All these Philadelphia periodicals were filled, and on the whole ably filled, by local contributors. The average of the work done was very good; but the curse of respectable mediocrity was upon it all. Though there must have been in the city a considerable number of men of culture and some ability, hardly a name has survived to the present.

So long as commerce with the Mississippi valley was carried on by means of the Ohio river, Philadelphia was the center of

¹ Page 38.

² The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal; the Museum of Foreign Literature; the Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews; Greenbank's and Waldie's Libraries.

civilization for a great part of the west, and hence exercised a strong literary influence in this region.¹

BALTIMORE.

From a literary point of view, the only important city south of Philadelphia was Baltimore. This had long been a center of Roman Catholic wealth and culture,² and at this time it also contained a number of able protestant writers. The Delphian club was a literary organization which in 1818-19 issued a periodical known as the *Red Book*, of which John P. Kennedy was editor. Among the other members were John Neal, William Gwynn, Paul Allen, Jared Sparks, Robert Goodloe Harper, John Pierpont, Francis S. Key, Samuel Woodworth, and William Wirt.³

Neal and Pierpont were northern men who came to Baltimore to start a dry goods store, and it was here that the former wrote his remarkable series of novels.⁴ A little later he went to London. Pierpont's most famous work, the *Airs of Palestine*, was also composed in Baltimore just after the failure of the dry goods enterprise. Woodworth was also a northerner. Kennedy, a native of Baltimore, became prominent in politics later, serving as Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore. He wrote *Swallow Barn* in 1832, and *Horse-Shoe Robinson* in 1835.⁵

Another resident of Baltimore especially dear to the southern heart was Edward Coote Pinckney. He came of a distinguished southern family, his father having served as minister to the court of St. James. He entered the navy, but had to resign because he challenged his superior officer. For a time he

¹ Note how great a proportion of the books reviewed in the *Western Review*, Lexington, Ky., 1819-20, were published in Philadelphia.

² The *Metropolitan*, i., 31 (1830): "Baltimore has, not improperly, been styled the Rome of the United States; and, indeed, whether we consider the monuments of religion, rare and magnificent in their kind; or the splendour of the ceremonies of the church; or the number, and respectability, and wealth, and piety, of those who profess the Catholic Faith; there is no one who could question the justness of her claim, or attempt to deprive her of the glory of her title."

³ Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 642.

⁴ See p. 46.

⁵ Manly, *Southern Literature*, 204; Beers, *Century of American Literature*, 124.

was professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in the University of Maryland. Next he went to Mexico, in the hope of entering the Mexican navy and serving in the war against Spain; but before receiving his commission he killed a native officer in a duel, and was forced to flee from the country. He returned to Baltimore, in debt and suffering from disease, and died in 1828, at the age of 26. His remembered works are a few lyrics, notably "We break the glass," and, "I fill this cup to one made up of loveliness alone."¹

Baltimore periodicals of this time that have been examined are as follows:

BALTIMORE MAGAZINES.

- 1816. The Portico, a Repository of Science and Literature.
- 1822. The Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information.
- 1830. The Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine.

The *Portico* was published by Edward J. Coale, and numbered among its contributors Pinckney and Key. The *Theological Review* was edited by James Gray. It was protestant and non-sectarian, and according to the prospectus aimed "to take in literature and every other subject which operates directly upon the religious and moral opinions of the community."

Scharf's *History of Baltimore* mentions the following literary periodicals as established in the city during the years covered by this study;

The Itinerant, or Wesleyan Methodist Visitor, 1828, by Melville B. Cox. Bi-weekly.

The Mt. Hope Literary Gazette, "conducted by one of the students of that institution," 1830.

The Red Book, 1819.

The Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette, 1828.

The Minerva, 1829. United with the last preceding.

The National Magazine, or Ladies' Companion, a political

¹ Beers, *Century of American Literature*, 180; Esmeralda Boyle, *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders*, 228.

and literary monthly, 1831; by Mrs. Mary Chase Barney, daughter of Samuel Chase.

OTHER CITIES IN THE SOUTH.

The South outside Baltimore may be dismissed almost with a word. Says Professor Baskervill:¹ "Before 1825 the physical and economic conditions of the southern states were such as to render the production of a southern literature a practical impossibility." This seems to have been literally true. The writers of the eighteenth century were still in vogue, and according to the eighteenth century fashion literature was looked upon as somewhat disreputable when chosen as a profession, though well enough as the recreation of a gentleman. For this reason, and because of the growing interest in sectional questions, young men of literary tastes drifted into politics, where they produced little of permanent worth. Simms is reported to have said: "No, sir, there never will be a literature worth the name in the southern states so long as their aristocracy remains based on so many head of negroes and so many bales of cotton."²

Poe and Simms both published volumes of verse in 1827, but there was no school of southern writers, and no literary center farther south than Baltimore. In the anthologies of southern literature, this period is represented by a few selections from Poe and the Baltimore writers, a stray lyric or two, like Henry Wilde's³ "My Life Is Like the Summer Rose," and by extracts from the speeches and writings of men loved in the South because of their connection with the lost cause—among them Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, and others.⁴

The number of periodicals issued in the South, outside of Baltimore, seems to have been small. The following have been examined:

¹ Publications Modern Language Association, vii., 93.

² *Ibid.*, 94.

³ Wilde was an Irishman by birth, and prominent in Georgia politics, serving some time in congress.

⁴ See Manly, *Southern Literature*. Duyckinck, and Stedman & Hutchinson mention hardly a familiar southern name that is not made familiar through politics rather than through literature—excepting of course the Baltimore writers.

SOUTHERN PERIODICALS.

- Charleston. 1817. The Sunday Visitant, or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge.
 1828. Southern Review.
 Richmond. 1818. The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine.
 Savannah. 1819. The Ladies' Magazine.
 Charlottesville. 1829. The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.
 Bethany, Va. 1830. The Millennial Harbinger.

Of these the most important was the *Southern Review*, which lasted but four years. The *Virginia Literary Museum*, etc., was a college publication.

THE WEST.

In contrast with the inactivity of the South was the interest taken in literary matters in the West. It is no doubt fortunate that economic and political conditions at this time forced emigration from New England rather than from other sections of the East. The descendants of the puritans combined a love of culture with their practical shrewdness, and, in spite of many "isms" and peculiarities, laid the foundation of what is best in the civilization of the West today. Schools and colleges were established wherever possible.¹ Cities and towns whose names are now almost unknown outside their own county aspired to be centers of letters and learning. The wide distribution of magazines is especially interesting:

WESTERN MAGAZINES.

- Lexington, Ky. 1820. Western Review.
 1829. The Transylvanian or Lexington Literary Journal.

¹ See page 6.

Cincinnati, O.	1824. The Cincinnati Literary Gazette.
	1828. Western Monthly Review.
	1829. Sentinel and Star in the West.
	1831. Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature and Science. ¹
	1833. Western Monthly Magazine.
Mt. Pleasant, O.	1817. The Philanthropist.
	1821. The Moral Advocate.
Lebanon, O.	1822. The Ohio Miscellaneous Museum.
New Richmond, O.	1824. The Columbian Historian.
Knoxville, Tenn.	1826. The Holston Messenger.
Oxford, O.	1827. The Literary Focus.
	1828. The Literary Register.
Rogersville, Tenn.	1827. The Calvinistic Magazine.
Vandalia, Ill.	1831. Illinois Monthly Magazine.
* ———	1832. The Harbinger of the Mississippi Valley. ²

Besides these journals, which have been examined by the writer, see the list in Venable's *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, partly given in Appendix C.

Raw and crude as the West was, there is a *fin de siècle* tone to these publications that is not found in the eastern magazines. The appeals for state aid to Transylvania University in 1821,³ with their abstract remarks on the value of culture, and their statistics of the money spent in the state by students, might, with the change of a few figures, be taken for a similar request to a legislature in 1897. It is possible to read a western magazine without recognizing the difficulties under which it was published, until one finds apologies for issues delayed because paper shipped from Pittsburg in November did not reach its destination until April,⁴ or until one reads an article like the following, entitled "*Literary Intelligence*:"⁵

¹ See Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, page 125.

² See note, p. 80.

³ *Western Review*, iv., 92.

⁴ *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, i., 233.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i., 142, 144.

"We have not a great deal to say under this head; because new books are not remarkably abundant in Vandalia. Nor do we expect to be able, at any time, to throw much light upon the passing events of the literary world. But we intend to pick up all that we can. . . . A work entitled the '*Political Class Book*,' written by Mr. Sullivan, has lately been published at Boston: . . . We have not read it; but are informed that the style is pleasing, and well adapted to the subject."

The difficulties of communication made the western magazines all the more important to the residents of the West.

During the war and the years just following, Lexington, Kentucky, was the most prominent literary center west of the Alleghenies. This, it will be remembered, was the seat of Transylvania University; here were gathered a number of men of literary tastes. A literary magazine was established here as early as 1803.¹ *The Western Review*, by James Gibbs Hunt, was begun in 1819 and continued two years. This was well edited, not too ambitious, and is on the whole much more readable than most of its contemporaries. It contained, besides reviews and miscellaneous papers, articles on Indian antiquities, adventures among the Indians, anecdotes regarding the history of the West, and the geology, botany, etc., of Kentucky. Some of these were written by members of the faculty of Transylvania University, some by army officers stationed in the West. The review department was good, and its criticisms are an interesting reflection of western thought. It seems strange, even to one born and educated in the Mississippi valley, to read a review of *Don Juan* printed in the wilds of Kentucky only six months after the poem appeared. Among other works reviewed in the journal are *Mazeppa*, *The Sketch-Book*, and Halleck's *Fanny*.

A few years later Cincinnati made the loudest, and probably the most successful claim to be "The Athens of the West."

¹ The Medley. This very interesting journal continued but one year. Mr. Venable devotes several pages to this work in his *Literary Beginnings of the Ohio Valley*, and expresses the belief that the only copy extant is in the Lexington library. A complete volume, including twelve pages more than Venable ascribes to this copy, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The city had several newspapers, and some facilities for publishing books. Only New York, Boston, and Philadelphia can show a larger list of literary periodicals established between 1824 and 1833. The *Western Monthly Review* continued two years. In 1833 James Hall¹ issued the first number of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, a continuation of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, which he had for two years been trying to keep alive at Vandalia. Shortly after 1833 there were several other magazines of interest. These received contributions from eastern as well as from western authors; in one, the reader is surprised to find a hitherto unpublished poem by Keats.

The two publications at Mt. Pleasant were devoted to reforms. The *Literary Focus* and the *Literary Register* were edited at Miami University. The *Illinois Monthly Magazine* was one of the most typical of the western journals. Vandalia was at this time the capital of Illinois, and was considered a city of great promise.

It was not to be expected that great works of literature would be produced under conditions like those that existed in the West during pioneer days. Probably the best that was written found its way into the magazines; though some books were published by westerners, and highly praised by both eastern and western reviewers. Among the most prolific authors was Timothy Flint, who wrote several sketches of western life. The student of to-day is chiefly interested in the fact that the West showed so quick and so keen an appreciation of the tendencies that have since become dominant in American literature.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE TIME.

The characteristics of the writings of these early years are not easy to summarize. It should always be borne in mind that these beginnings were not the product of one school or tendency in the mother country, but show the influence of every great English writer. The result was a good deal of a medley at first;

¹ Hiram W. Beckwith contributes a sketch of this pioneer of western letters to the *Chicago Tribune* for Sept. 8, 1895.

but the essential difference between English and American literature, so far as such a difference has existed in the last half century, is largely due to this fact.

In prose, aside from fiction, Irving set the fashion with a modification of the Addisonian type. In other words, he chose what was best in the English writings of the eighteenth century, and adapted it to the new conditions. Attempts at the same style are to be found almost everywhere.¹

Perhaps it was due to Addisonian influences, working through Irving, that the short stories of the day were so stale, flat, and unprofitable. Irving's bits of fiction seem to be mostly modifications of the Addisonian essay, rather than real stories. *Rip van Winkle* and *Sleepy Hollow* are exceptions to this statement, and it is because they are exceptions that they are the most popular of his sketches. Following the same impulse, many other writers produced stories equally dull, and not half so genially told. Either it is possible to tell after the first few paragraphs exactly how the story will end, or the reader is asked to follow a long series of strange occurrences, only to find that it is "all a dream."²

Not quite all short stories were of this sort. At this time appeared studies in the psychologically horrible, a type which, in the hands of Poe and Hawthorne, became very effective. There had been enough of the purely horrible before; Charles Brockden Brown, for one, was famous for his use of it; but a story like Dana's *Paul Felton*³ is entirely different from this. In the latter, the horrors are real, no matter how they are accounted for. The facts are stated, and the reader is left to choose between demoniacal possession and insanity, or—if he would get the strongest effect,—to think the one theory, and feel the other.

How this treatment originated is uncertain. Possibly it

¹ Take, for example, the papers in the *Talisman*.

² Illustrations may be found in any of the annuals; or, for an example that will not be too wearisome, see Bryant's early attempts at prose tales, reprinted in his collected works.

³ First published in *The Idle Man*.

came from the German;¹ but there seems very slight evidence of this. Possibly it came from contemporary England, by carrying out in prose what Coleridge hinted in verse. The writer inclines to the opinion that it was a natural American development from what had preceded. A literature of horrors seems to be a necessity. At times the mind craves something of the sort. Since the days of Walpole, horrors had been introduced without apparent explanation; or, in a few cases, had been explained at the end of the story in some matter-of-fact way. The former plan could not satisfy the business-like American, with his increasing sense of scientific laws; the latter was flat. One course or the other seemed necessary so long as a physical explanation was sought for, but a psychological treatment obviated all difficulties. Perhaps the renewed interest in philosophy, and possibly something in the characteristics of the American mind, should be taken into account.

Longer prose fiction was generally patterned after Scott. Those who had not originality enough to follow Scott directly took Cooper's Americanized version as their model.

Epics do not seem to have been attempted much, perhaps because they would take too much time. Dramas, however, were common enough. Classical subjects seem to have had the preference. The verse is almost uniformly bad, owing, Bryant thinks, in the case of Hillhouse, to the influence of Milton;² more probably to the extreme artificiality of everything connected with these productions. Hillhouse and Pickering wrote some of the dramas that were most favorably received. Payne, less ambitious and more practical, actually prepared plays for the stage. From one of these, *Clari* (1823), comes *Home Sweet Home*—almost the only thing from the pens of these would-be dramatists that has survived.³

¹ Brandl, *Life of Coleridge*, page 186, remarks that horrors continued popular in the drama between 1790 and 1800, but that there were fewer robbers, ghosts, tyrants, etc., and more inward convulsions of soul. This the author thinks was due in part to the revolution, when executions were of daily occurrence.

² *North American Review*, xl., 384.

³ Others who wrote plays were Clinch, Ingersoll, Morris, and Woodworth.

In lyric and elegiac poems the eclectic tendency operated most strongly, and all kinds of treatment were attempted. The fugitive verses in the magazines show the influence of Moore or of Byron, especially of such lighter work as the *Hebrew Melodies*. A common class of subjects was drawn from the idealized life of the Indians. The couplet of Pope was affected at first, but when an author escaped from it he rarely used it again.

Though Halleck and others may have been more generally read, Bryant probably had more influence than any other native poet. In *Thanatopsis* and the *Forest Hymn* he came nearer than any one else to the creation of a national style of blank verse.¹ His influence united with that of Wordsworth in inspiring a love for nature in its more simple and quiet forms.

In the *Buccaneer*, Dana obviously takes a hint from Coleridge, and the music of the poem seems at times to echo Keats. Others of his poems at this time show traces of Wordsworth and Cowper. Dana was also a conscious artist in verse, though he began to write rather late in life.² In the preface to the first edition of his poems (1827) he pleads for liberty of versification, and comments on the monotony of Scott.³

CLOSE OF THE PERIOD.

The close of the period under discussion is marked by no such definite date as is the beginning; yet between the years 1830 and 1835 a change came over the spirit of the country. In these years occurred the revolutions in France, Poland, and Belgium, and the dissemination of the spirit of which they were the outcome—a spirit which in England took a different shape, and resulted in the passage of the reform bill and the abolition of slavery. Closely connected with this political upheaval was the

¹ Bryant was a close student of the technique of poetry. As early as 1815 he wrote an essay on Trisyllabic Feet in English Verse, which was later published in the *North American Review*. His criticisms of poetry always comment on versification.

² His first poem, *The Dying Crow*, was written in 1825, when he was 38 years of age. At Bryant's suggestion the title was changed to *The Dying Raven*, as it now stands. The *Buccaneer* was completed in 1826 or 1827.

³ See also several of his letters to Bryant.

awakening of religious interest, which in England gave rise to the Tractarian movement, and in this country to emotional revivals in the west, and a little later to Transcendentalism in New England. Of English writers, Byron, Scott, and Coleridge were dead, and although Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson and Browning had begun their work, there was a pause in the course of English literature until the new men established their positions. At this time, too, German influence was becoming strongly felt.

At home the political and social influence of the rapidly-growing west came into prominence. The questions of finance and slavery, which had been getting more and more troublesome since the early twenties, took a serious form. At this time came forward most of that group of writers who were associated with the *Atlantic* in its early days, and whose names still hold the first place in American literature. All the more prominent of these, except Lowell, received their formative training in this early period, and put forth some writings before its close.

The year 1833 has been chosen to end the period of this study, because it stands midway between the old order of things and the new. No sacredness attaches to it, and any other between 1830 and 1835 might almost as well be chosen. Professor Beers in his recent work makes one period end with 1835, and in a continuous study of American literature this has its advantages.

CONCLUSION.

It was the mission of the writers in the period that has been considered to learn the lessons that the old world had to teach, to catch the spirit of a new national life, and so to transmit to their successors, in practical working form, what they had learned by unaided experience. It mattered little whether their own works endured or not, so long as they did this well.

No abrupt line of demarcation separates this period from the one that succeeds. Bryant lived, wrote, and exercised a strong influence, almost to the present generation; and Irving and Cooper did not cease writing until most members of the early

'Atlantic group had made their reputations. On the other hand, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, and others were writing before 1833—publishing in the better magazines, and coming under the influence of editors and older contributors.

Longfellow tells us that the *Sketch-Book* was his one first book. In spite of the strong personalities of Hawthorne, Holmes, and Lowell, the student of their lives and works feels that they all owe something to Irving. Bryant's early devotion to nature may be traced in different forms in Whittier and Lowell.¹ The indebtedness of Hawthorne and Poe to Dana in one particular has been noticed above.

To trace in detail the effects of these early labors would require a discussion of all that has been written in America to the present day. This study has done all that was intended, if it has shown that the writers from 1815 to 1833, having received little from their predecessors, bequeathed to those who followed, the beginnings of a continuous development in American literature. The question of how the next generation received this legacy, how it adapted to new conditions the tendencies and usages that have been discussed, how it profited by both successes and failures—all this cannot be considered here.

It would be useless to speculate on what these pioneers, as individuals, might have done had they lived at a later time, or on what might have been the result had abler men occupied their places. Some things that they transmitted to their successors worked for evil; but these came largely from the tendencies of the times; and instead of complaining that their work might have been better done, we should rather congratulate our country that on the whole it was done so well.

Both authors and works have met their fate. The very names of some who were most active are now known only to the student. Even Irving and Cooper may be taking their places with the authors who, though much praised, are little read. It would

¹ Lowell always spoke rather slightingly of this period. He was almost the only writer of the Atlantic group who was ungracious—or unconscious—enough to deny his obligations.

be absurd to deify these men, or to attempt to force them on the public of today; but it should not be forgotten that from their half-amusing, half-pathetic struggles came tendencies and influences that have lasted till the present time, and without which our best achievements in literature would have been possible only by a miracle.

APPENDIX A.

Periodicals, Indexed in Poole, Founded between 1815 and 1883.

- 1815-¹ Boston—North American Review.
 1818-40 New York—(American) Methodist Magazine.
 1819-23 Boston—Christian Disciple.
 1819- New York—American Journal of Science.
 1819-28 New Haven—Christian Monthly Spectator.
 1820-21 Lexington, Ky.—Western Review.
 1822-42 Philadelphia—Museum of Foreign Literature (Littell's).
 1824-69 Boston—Christian Examiner.
 1825-33 New York—American Annual Register.
 1825-27 Boston—U. S. Literary Gazette.
 1825-26 Boston—Boston Monthly Magazine.
 1826- Philadelphia—Journal of the Franklin Institute.²
 1826 Worcester—Worcester Magazine.
 1827-37 Philadelphia—American Quarterly Review.
 1828-32 Charleston—Southern Review.
 1828-33 Boston—Spirit of the Pilgrims.
 1828-30 Cincinnati—Western Monthly Review.
 1829-43 Andover—American Quarterly Register.³
 1829-38 New Haven—Christian Quarterly Spectator.
 1829-71 Princeton—Princeton Review.

¹ The two dates indicate the continuance of the magazine. All are now defunct except the North American Review, the American Journal of Science, and the Journal of the Franklin Institute. The Worcester Magazine lived but a single year.

² This Journal underwent several slight changes of name. It is the direct descendant of the American Mechanic's Magazine, conducted by Associated Mechanics, New York, 1825. The latter is not in Poole. It was continued in Philadelphia as the Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine, in 1826. See Bolton, Catalogue of Scientific and Technical Periodicals, for subsequent changes.

³ This is the date given by Poole. The first number was for July, 1827. The paging is consecutive to and including the number for April, 1829, and the title-page bears date 1829. In tables in the text, the year 1827 is taken, as this was the real date of founding.

- 1830-61 Boston—American Almanac.
- 1831-50 New York—American Biblical Repository.
- 1831-48 Boston—American Institute of Instruction.
- 1831-32 Vandalia, Ill.—Illinois Monthly Magazine.
- 1831-35 Boston—New England Magazine.
- 1832-33 Boston—American Monthly Review.
- 1833-38 New York—American Monthly Magazine.
- 1833-34 Boston—American Quarterly Observer.
- 1833-64 New York—Knickerbocker Magazine.
- 1833-34 Boston—Select Journal.
- 1833-36 Cincinnati—Western Monthly Magazine.

APPENDIX B.

Periodicals not in Poole, Founded between 1815 and 1833.

1815. Cambridge—The Friend of Peace. By Philo Pacificus. Quarterly (irregular).
1815. Albany—The Christian Visitant. Non-sectarian. Weekly.
1816. Meadville, Pa.—The Alleghany Magazine, or Repository of Useful Knowledge. By Rev. Timothy Alden. Monthly.
1816. Baltimore—The Portico, a Repository of Science and Literature. "Conducted by two men of Padua." Monthly.
1816. New York—The Christian Herald. Edited by John E. Caldwell. Weekly.
1816. New York—The Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review. Edited by the Rev. Thos. Y. How, D. D., Asst. Rector of Trinity Church. Semi-annual.
1817. Boston—The Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines. Semi-Monthly. (After 1832, — or Spirit of English Literature and Fashion.)
1817. Boston—The New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine. Weekly.
1817. New York—The Weekly Visitor and Ladies' Museum. Weekly.¹
1817. New York—The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review. H. Biglow, Esq., editor and proprietor. Monthly.
1817. New York—The Christian Journal and Literary Register. Semi-monthly. (Episcopalian.)

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1817. New York—The Evangelical Guardian and Review. By an association of clergymen in New York. Monthly. Discontinued at end of Vol. II.¹
1817. Philadelphia—The American Register, or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature. (Conducted by Robert Walsh, Jun., Esq.). Semi-annual.
1817. Mt. Pleasant, O.—The Philanthropist. By Chas. Osborn. Weekly.
1817. Charleston—The Sunday Visitant, or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge. By A. Fowler, A. M. Weekly.
1818. Philadelphia—The Quarterly Theological Review; conducted by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, A. M. Quarterly.
1818. Philadelphia—The Latter Day Luminary; by a committee of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the U. S. Quarterly (irregular).
1818. Boston—The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer. (New Series.) Published under the direction of the Baptist Missionary Society in Massachusetts. Committee of Editors, Thos. Baldwin, Daniel Sharp, J. M. Winchell. Bimonthly.¹
1818. Portsmouth, N. H.—The Christian Herald. By Robert Foster. Monthly.¹
1818. Richmond—The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine. Edited by John H. Rice. Monthly. (In 1824 title changed to Literary and Evangelical Magazine.)
1819. New York—The Ladies' Literary Cabinet. Edited by Samuel Woodworth. Weekly.
1819. Savannah—The Ladies' Magazine. Weekly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1820. New York—The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review. (Edited by Col. Gardner.) Quarterly.
1821. Philadelphia—The Presbyterian Magazine. Edited by Wm. Neill, D. D., with the assistance of a number of literary gentlemen. Monthly. (Continued after Vol. ii. as *The Christian Advocate*.)¹
1821. Philadelphia—The Literary Gazette, or Journal of Criticism, Science and the Arts, being a collection of original and selected essays. Weekly.
1821. Philadelphia—The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. London, republished by E. Littell, Phila., and R. Norris Henry, N. Y. Monthly. (After 6th Vol., published by Cummings, Hillard & Co., Boston, press of the North American Review. Vols. 5 and 6 same press, but published by Oliver Everett, Boston.)
1821. Hartford—The Religious Inquirer. Published by an Association of Gentlemen, containing doctrinal, controversial, historical, and practical matter, and articles of religious intelligence and miscellany. Edited by Rev. Richard Carrique. Bi-weekly. (Universalist.)
1821. Mt. Pleasant, O.—The Moral Advocate, a monthly publication on war, duelling, capital punishments, and prison discipline. By Elisha Bates. Monthly.¹
1822. New York—The Minerva. (In 1824 becomes *The Minerva*, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal. Edited by George Houston and James G. Brooks.) Weekly.
1822. New Haven—The Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor. Monthly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1822. Baltimore—The Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information. Edited by James Gray, D. D. Quarterly.
1822. Utica, N. Y.—The Utica Christian Repository, containing various pieces on doctrinal and practical subjects of religion, mostly original, also a summary of missionary intelligence. Monthly.
1822. Lebanon, O.—The Ohio Miscellaneous Museum. Monthly. (No title-page.)
1823. Philadelphia. The American Sunday School Magazine. Monthly.¹
1823. Boston—The Boston Medical Intelligencer. Weekly.¹
1823. Philadelphia—The Christian Advocate; being a continuation of the Presbyterian Magazine. Conducted by Ashabel Green, D. D. (Suspended at end of 12th volume, 1834.)
1823. New York—The New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette: being a repository of miscellaneous literary productions in prose and verse. Edited by Samuel Woodworth. Weekly.
1823. Montreal—The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository. Monthly. (Closed with 4th vol.) (A MS. note in library copy speaks of this as "published by the late Mr. Turner"—evidently meaning that he was the editor.)
1824. New York—The Atlantic Magazine. Monthly.
1824. New York—The Telescope. Published by Wm. Burnett & Co. Weekly. (Religious, undenominational.)
1824. Hartford—The Evangelist, a monthly publication devoted to subjects connected with experimental and practical religion. Monthly.
1824. Providence—The Christian Telescope; edited by Rev. David Pickering, Providence, R. I. Quarterly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

(Changed to Christian Telescope and Anti-Theocrat at the beginning of the 3d volume.)

1824. Washington—The United States' Naval Chronicle; by Chas. W. Goldsborough. Annual (?).
1824. Hudson, N. Y.—The Rural Repository, or semi-monthly entertaining and amusing journal; containing a variety of original and select articles, arranged under the following heads: Popular Tales, Biography, Traveller, Miscellaneous Communications, Poetry, etc. Published by Wm. B. Stoddard. Bi-weekly.
1824. Cincinnati—The Cincinnati Literary Gazette. Published by John P. Foote. Weekly. (Pub. 1824-5.)
1824. New Richmond, O.—The Columbian Historian. Weekly (irregular). (No title-page.)
1824. Montreal—The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal. (Edited by Mr. Chisholme. Only five numbers published.) Quarterly (irregular).
1825. Washington—The African Repository and Colonial Journal. Published by order of the managers of the American Colonization society. Monthly.¹
1826. Philadelphia—The Church Register; devoted to the interests of religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Edited by the Rev. Geo. Waller. Weekly.
1826. Philadelphia—The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette. By Thos. C. Clarke. Weekly.
1826. Hartford. The Literary Casket; devoted to literature, the arts and sciences. Semi-monthly.
1826. Hartford—Supplement to The Connecticut Courant. Bi-weekly.¹
1826. Boston—American Journal of Education. (Edited by William Russell. Monthly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1826. Knoxville, Tenn.—The Holston Messenger; by Thos. Stringfield. (Methodist.) Monthly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio. Edited by Robert Morris. Weekly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Souvenir. Weekly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Casket; or Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment. By Saml. C. Atkinson. Monthly. (Continued as Graham's, 1841.)
1827. Auburn, N. Y.—The Gospel Messenger. Edited by John C. Rudd. (Episcopal). Weekly.
1827. Oxford, O.—The Literary Focus; edited by the Erodelphian and Union Literary Societies, Miami University. Monthly.¹
1827. Rogersville, T.—The Calvinistic Magazine, conducted by James Gallaher, Frederick A. Ross, and David Nelson. Monthly.
1827. Montreal—The Christian Sentinel and Anglo-Canadian Churchman's Magazine. Bi-Monthly. (Seems to succeed The Canadian Magazine, Church of England.)
1827. New York—The Olive Branch. Published weekly by the New York Universalist Book Society.
1828. New York—The Atlas; a select literary and historical periodical. Weekly.
1828. Philadelphia—The Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews. Edited by Rev. Geo. Weller. Monthly. (Only 4 vols. published.)
1828. Philadelphia—The Register of Pennsylvania, devoted to the preservation of facts and documents and other kinds of useful information respecting the State of Pennsylvania. Edited by Samuel Hazard. Weekly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1828. Philadelphia—The Friend, or Advocate of Truth; A Religious Publication. (Quaker.) Monthly, in 1828, semi-monthly in 1829, weekly in 1830.
1828. New York—The Critic; A Weekly Review of Literature, Fine Arts, and the Drama. Edited by Wm. Leggett. Weekly.
1828. New York—The Cabinet of Instruction, Literature and Amusement; containing original essays, extracts from new works, historical narratives, biographical memoirs, sketches of society, topographical descriptions, novels and tales, anecdotes, poetry, original and selected, The Spirit of the Public Journals, discoveries in the arts and sciences, useful domestic hints, &c., &c., &c. Semi-monthly. (This becomes in volume v. The Cabinet of Religion, Education, Literature, Science, and Intelligence; edited by Rev. John Newland Maffett. Vols. ii. and iii. weekly.)
1828. Boston. The Yankee, and Boston Literary Gazette. Edited by John Neal and James W. Miller. Weekly.¹
1828. Boston—The Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette. Edited by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. Monthly.¹
1828. Washington—The Washington Theological Repository and Churchman's Guide. (New Series. First series begun in 1819?) (Episcopalian. Under control of the Education Society of Virginia and Maryland. Discontinued in 1830.) Monthly.
1828. Worcester—The Worcester Talisman. By Dorr & Howland. Bi-weekly. (No title-page.)
1828. Oxford, O.—The Literary Register. Edited by the Professors of the Miami University. (Weekly.) (To be continued by C. A. Ward and W. W. Bishop after first volume.)¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1828. Philadelphia—The Christian Magazine and Clerical Review. Edited by Rev. Benjamin and Thos. G. Allen. Weekly.
1828. New York—The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal. Edited by Rev. Absalom Peters, Cor. Sec. of the American Home Missionary Society. Monthly.¹
1828. New York—The Free Enquirer. (Second Series.) Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen, conducting editors. Weekly.¹
1828. New York—The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal. Published by the American Seamen's Friend Society. Monthly.¹
1829. Rochester—The Rochester Gem; a Semi-monthly Literary and Miscellaneous Journal, devoted to polite literature, history, biography, essays, poetry, morality, sentiment, wit, &c., &c. Semi-monthly.¹
1829. Charlottesville—The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c. Edited at the University of Virginia. Weekly.
1829. Cincinnati—The Sentinel and Star in the West. Edited by J. Kidwell, J. C. Waldo, and S. Tizzard. Weekly. (Universalist.)
1829. Lexington, Ky.—The Transylvanian, or Lexington Literary Journal. Monthly.
1830. Philadelphia—Godey's Lady's Book. Monthly.¹
1830. Philadelphia—The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register, devoted to the interests of religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Edited by an Association of Clergymen. Monthly. (Seems to succeed the Church Register, a weekly; See above, 1826.)

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1830. Philadelphia—The Journal of Law, conducted by an Association of members of the bar. Bi-weekly.¹
1830. Philadelphia—The Journal of Health. Conducted by an Association of Physicians. Bi-weekly.¹
1830. Boston—The Mechanics' Magazine and Journal of Public Internal Improvement; devoted to the useful arts and the recording of projects, inventions and discoveries of the age. Monthly.
1830. Boston—American Annals of Education and Instruction. Edited by Wm. C. Woodbridge. Monthly. (A continuation of the American Journal of Education.)
1830. Utica—The Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate; devoted to theoretical and practical religion, free inquiry, religious liberty, and intelligence. Aaron B. Grosh, editor; Abner R. Bartlett, asst. editor; G. W. Montgomery and E. H. Chapin, corresponding editors. (This list of editors taken from volume ix., new series.) Weekly.¹
1830. Baltimore—The Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine. Monthly.
1830. Bethany, Va.—The Millennial Harbinger. Edited by Alexander Campbell. (Campbellite.) Monthly. (No title-page.)
1831. Boston—The Boston Pearl, a Gazette of Polite Literature devoted to original tales, legends, essays, translations, travelling, literary and historical sketches, biography, poetry, criticisms, music, etc. Edited by Isaac C. Pray, Jun. Weekly.¹
1831. Cincinnati—The Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature, Science and the Arts; conducted by Wm. D. Gallagher and T. H. Shreve. Weekly.¹
1832. Philadelphia—The North American Magazine. Edited by Sumner Lincoln Fairfield. Monthly.¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1832. New York—The Spirit of Practical Godliness. Monthly.
1832. New York—American Railroad Journal and Mechanic's Magazine. (Semi-monthly in 1837; weekly at first?)¹
1832. Boston—The Family Lyceum. Conducted by Josiah Holbrook. Weekly.
1832. Albany—The Temperance Recorder; devoted exclusively to the cause of temperance. Published monthly by the executive committee of the New York State Temperance Society.
1832. Steubenville—The Sabbath School Magazine. Bi-monthly.¹
1832. ———²—The Harbinger of the Mississippi Valley. Monthly (?)¹
1832. New York—The New York and Richmond County Free Press. By William Hagadorn. Devoted to foreign and domestic news, politics and miscellany. Weekly.

1833. New York—The Mechanics' Magazine and Register of Inventions and Improvements. Monthly.
1833. Philadelphia—Greenbank's Periodical Library, containing in the cheapest possible form a republication of new and standard works. Weekly.
1833. Philadelphia—The Select Circulating Library, containing the best popular literature, including memoirs, biography, novels, tales, travels, voyages, &c. Weekly.
1833. Boston—The People's Magazine. Bi-weekly.
1833. New York—The Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge; embellished with several hundred engravings. Weekly.¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

² But one number of this periodical has been found, and investigation has thus far failed to show the place of publication. It was probably somewhere in Kentucky.

1833. Rochester—Youth's Companion and Western New York Sabbath-School Advocate. Bi-weekly.
1833. Hudson, N. Y.—The Magnolia, or Literary Tablet; devoted to literature, moral and sentimental tales, poetry, &c., &c. Semi-monthly. (Suspended publication Sept. 20, 1834.)
1833. Washington—The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States. Edited by Benjamin Homans. Monthly.

APPENDIX C.

Miscellaneous Lists of Periodicals.

The following are supposed to have been of literary character, but are not included in the tables in the body of the paper because they have not been examined by the writer:

The Weekly Cadet, a weekly started at Cincinnati in 1819. Merged in the Western Spy in less than six months.¹

The Olio, Cincinnati, 1821-2. Published and edited by John H. Wood and Sam S. Brooks.²

The National Preacher. New York. Vol. i., 1826. Original sermons by living preachers.³

The Focus, established in 1826 at Louisville, Ky., by W. W. Worsley and Dr. Jos. Buchanan. Merged in the Louisville Journal.⁴

The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine. A prospectus announced this magazine to appear in October, 1828, but the magazine has not been found. Did it appear?

The Green Mountain Repository; Vol. i., 1832.⁵

The following are given by Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, page 124. Some of them did not contain a very great proportion of literary matter; of most, the writer has been able to learn nothing.

The Literary Pamphleteer. Paris, Kentucky, 1823.

The Western Censor. Indianapolis, 1823-4.

The Western Luminary. Lexington, Kentucky, 1824.

The Microscope. Louisville, Kentucky, 1824. Weekly.

¹ See Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, 66.

² *Ibid.*, 66.

³ In Chicago Public Library.

⁴ See Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, 40.

⁵ In Newberry Library, Chicago.

The Western Minerva. F. and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826.

New Harmony Gazette. Robert Owen, New Harmony, Indiana, 1825.

Transylvania Literary Journal. By Prof. Thos. J. Mathews, Lexington, Kentucky, 1829. (A college paper.)

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburg Literary Gazette, 1828. Weekly.

The Shield. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182-. Weekly.

The Ladies' Museum. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830.

The Olive Branch. Circleville, Ohio, 1832. Bi-monthly.

The National Historian. Horton J. Howard, St. Clairsville, Ohio.

The Literary Cabinet. Thos. Gregg, St. Clairsville, Ohio, 1833.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. Albert Pickett, Cincinnati, 1833. Monthly.

The Lexington Literary Journal. John Clark, Lexington, Ky., 1833.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Kaleidoscope. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, Ohio, 1833.

The following are mentioned as exchanges by The Magnolia, October, 1833. The date at which they were founded is not known; but it is not probable that any of them dated back of 1815:

The Parthenon, or Academians' Magazine. Monthly, 64pp. \$2.50 per annum, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

The Literary Inquirer, published semi-monthly under the patronage of the Buffalo Lyceum, Buffalo, N. Y., at \$1.50 per annum.

The Literary Register and Miscellaneous Magazine, published semi-monthly at Elyria, Lorain Co., Ohio, at \$1 per annum.

The Amaranth, published semi-monthly, in East Bridgewater, Mass., at \$1 per annum.

The Gem, published semi-monthly in Rochester, N. Y., at \$1.50 per annum.

Parley's Magazine, Boston, \$1 per annum.

The Pearl and Literary Gazette, Hartford, \$2 per annum.

The American Quarterly Register for October, 1828, gives a list of 38 religious magazines in the United States, and says that there are probably 10 or 12 more published.¹ Considering the average life of a periodical it is probable that most of these had been started after 1815. Those not noted in one of the preceding lists are as follows:

Middlebury, Vt.—Episcopal Register.

Keene, N. H.—Liberal Preacher.

Boston—Missionary Herald.

Boston—Baptist Preacher.

Boston—Sunday School Treasury.

Providence—Hopkinsian Magazine.

New Haven—Guardian and Monitor.

New York—American Tract Magazine.

New York—National Preacher.

New York—Youth's Magazine.

Schoharie, N. Y.—Lutheran Magazine.

New Brunswick—Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church.

Princeton—Biblical Repertory.²

Philadelphia—Youth's Friend.

Philadelphia—United Brethren Missionary Int.²

Philadelphia—Baptist Tract Magazine.

Philadelphia—Penn. and Del. Tract Magazine.³

Milton, Pa.—Religious Farmer.³

Carlisle, Pa.—Magazine of German Reformed Church.

Frederick, Md.—Evangelical Lutheran Int.

Fayetteville, N. C.—Evangelical Museum.

Fayetteville, N. C.—Presbyterian Preacher.

Zanesville, O.—Western Religious Magazine.

For a list of Baltimore magazines not examined see page 58.

¹ In the same connection the editor says: "The whole number of religious newspapers published in the United States is not far from forty."

² Quarterly ³ Semi-monthly; all others monthly.

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By far the most important source of material for this study was the periodicals given in Appendices A and B. The following list contains some of the books that have been consulted most freely, and from which most help has been gained. It has not been thought necessary to include histories of the United States, which have been useful so far as they treat of this period; or histories of states, counties, and cities; or well-known works of literary history and criticism. An attempt has been made to give credit in the foot-notes for specific information obtained from such sources.

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Cooper, J. Fennimore. *Works*. Boston.

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Duyckinck, E. A. and G. L. *Cyclopedia of American Literature*. New York, 1856.

Garnett, Richard. *Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. London, 1888.

Godwin, Parke. *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant*, with extracts from his private correspondence. New York, 1883.

Goodrich, S. G. *Recollections of a Lifetime, or Men and Things I Have Seen*. New York and Auburn, 1857.

Halleck, Fitz-Greene. *The Poetical Writings of, with extracts from those of Joseph Rodman Drake*. Edited by James Grant Wilson. New York, 1882.

Irving, Washington. Works. Philadelphia, 1872.

Knapp, Samuel L. Lectures on American Literature, with remarks on some passages of American history. New York, 1829.

Longfellow, Samuel. Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with extracts from his journals and correspondence. Boston, 1886.

Lounsbury, Thomas R. James Fennimore Cooper (American Men of Letters Series). Boston, 1883.

Nichol, John. American Literature, an historical sketch. Edinburgh, 1885.

Percival, James Gates. Poetical Works. Boston, 1859.

(Pickering.) The Ruins of Pæstum, and other compositions in verse. Salem, 1822.

Poole, William Frederick. Index to Periodical Literature. Boston, 1882. (Tables, lists, etc.)

Richardson, Chas. F. American Literature, 1607-1885. New York, 1888.

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SCIENCE SERIES, Volume 1:

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No. 2. On the Quartz Keratophyre and Associated Rocks of the North Range of the Baraboo Bluffs, by Samuel Weidman. Pp. 21, pls. 3, January, 1895. Price 25 cents.

No. 3. Studies in Spherical and Practical Astronomy, by George C. Comstock, Director of the Washburn Observatory. Pp. 50, June, 1895. Price 40 cents.

No. 4. A Contribution to the Mineralogy of Wisconsin, by William Herbert Hobbs, Assistant Professor of Mineralogy and Petrology. Pp. 48, pls. 5, June, 1895. Price, 40 cents.

No. 5. Analytic Keyes to the Genera and Species of North American Mosses, by Charles Reid Barnes, Professor of Botany and Fred DeForest Heald, Fellow in Botany. Pp. 211, January, 1897. Price, \$1.00. (Concluding Vol. 1.)

In preparation :

The Action of Dilute Solutions of Electrolytes upon the Sense of Taste, by Louis Kahlenberg, Ph. D., Instructor in Physical Chemistry.

ENGINEERING SERIES, Volume 1:

No. 1. Track, by L. F. Loree, M. Am. Soc. C. E., Special University Lecturer. Pp. 24, April, 1894. Price 25 cents.

No. 2. Some Practical Hints in Dynamo Design, by Gilbert Wilkes, M. Am. Inst. E. E., Special University Lecturer. Pp. 16, May, 1894. Price 25 cents.

No. 3. The Steel Construction of Buildings, by C. T. Purdy, C. E., Special University Lecturer. Pp. 27, October, 1894. Price 25 cents.

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No. 5. An Experimental Study of Field Methods which will Insure to Stadia Measurements Greatly Increased Accuracy, by Leonard Sewal Smith, B. C. E., Instructor in Engineering. Pp. 45, pl. 1, May, 1895. Price 35 cents.

No. 6. Railway Signaling, by W. McC. Grafton, C. E., Special University Lecturer. Pp. 38, July, 1895. Price 35 cents.

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No. 8. Electrical Engineering in Modern Central Stations, by Louis A. Ferguson, S. B., Special University Lecturer. Pp. 33, April, 1896. Price 35 cents.

No. 9. The Problem of Economical Heat, Light, and Power Supply for Building Blocks, School Houses, Dwellings, Etc., by G. Adolph Gerdtsen, B. S., Alumni Fellow in Engineering. Pp. 69, May, 1896. Price 45 cents.

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No. 1. A Complete Test of Modern American Transformers of Moderate Capacities, by Arthur Hillyer Ford, B. S., Fellow in Electrical Engineering, with an introduction by Professor D. C. Jackson. Pp. 88 August, 1896. Price 35 cents.

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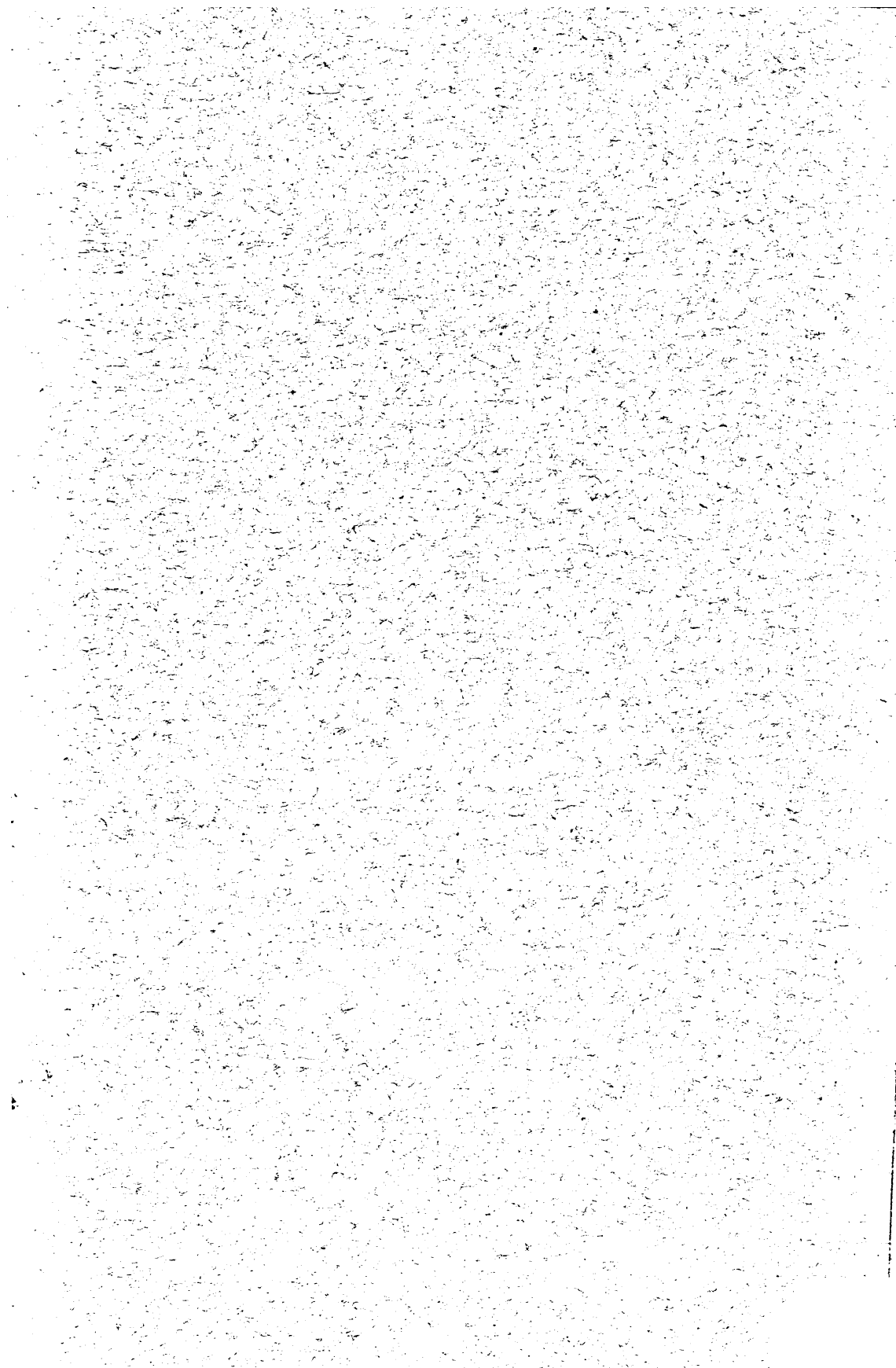
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